

The Local Surfer: Issues of Identity and Community within South East Cornwall

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Abstract

This study is about surfing subculture in the South West of England, within small communities of surfers that live within the South East Cornwall area. Specifically the focus is on the Local Surfer, a surfing type emerging from a typology of surfers observed in the South West of England during my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) and developed through the use of ideal types, a concept taken from Weber (1949). The Interpretive paradigm was adopted for this study in order to conduct research into the social world of surfing subculture that produced richly descriptive data. Within this approach qualitative ethnographic methods were used including participant observation, field notes and semi-structured interviews to generate data on the two key themes surrounding the Local Surfer in the study; identity and community.

In terms of identity, data reveals a list of the ideal typical characteristics for the Wannabe, the Professional Surfer, the Soul Surfer and the Local Surfer types the last of which highlights significant gender differences within the type itself. Donnelly and Young's (1999) symbolic interactionist model of identity construction and confirmation was applied to analyse the Local Surfer and did help illuminate some stages in Local Surfer identity construction. However, this analysis also revealed limitations of this theories applicability to pursuits rather than sports (which is how surfing is classified to the Local Surfer). Goffman's (1969) concept of career was also used to provide an opportunity to present the career of the Local Surfer and in particular provides information on the years after identity construction and the process of ageing within a subculture and a community. The Local Surfer career is seen as various distinctive stages which the Local Surfer typically progressed through in a linear manner: the "nurturing" stage; the traveller stage; the responsible stage; and the legends stage.

Finally in terms of community, many of the issues associated with community are addressed by focusing on the elements which make up a definition of

community established in the early stages of the study. Current issues for the Local Surfer are also discussed including their fraternal qualities, the exclusion of women and the phenomenon of localism.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This study is about the surfing subculture in the South West of England, in particular focusing on small communities of surfers that live within the South East Cornwall area. There are several reasons for undertaking this study. One such reason is location. As a sociological researcher based in the South-West, the impact of surfing on society in recent years cannot be ignored. The popularity of the sport has increased immensely with an estimated 50,000 surfers in Britain in 2007 where a high proportion would have been based in the South-West of England (Alexander, 2007 and AFP, 2004). As Barkham (2006: web site) states, “surfing may have begun as a countercultural trickle, frozen out of British popular culture by small seas and an inconsiderate climate. Now it is a vast breaker”. Being located at the University of Exeter in the South-West and living in Plymouth on the South coast provides a unique opportunity to take advantage of this location. Further to the element of location, is the lack of empirical research focused on surfing in the South-West of England (notable exceptions include Williams, 2002, Mercer, 2003 and Meredith, 2003). Surfing academics such as Pearson (1979 and 1981) and Booth (1996, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2003, 2004) have always chosen to centre their research on the more popular locations of Australia and New Zealand, leaving the South West as relatively unexplored territory for researchers. A final reason for undertaking this project lies in my past work. My MSc dissertation (Beaumont, 2007) undertaken whilst at Loughborough University established that there were four possible types of surfers that existed in the South-West of England, one of which was labelled the Local Surfer. The Local Surfer was so significant to the location of the South-West that it became the centre of discussion around this current study and led to the focus being on the aspect of identity and communities within the South-West.

One of the key ideas for this study is “identity”. Although the presence of the Local Surfer has been revealed in previous research, little is known about their existence or significance. There are, therefore, questions concerning the place and role of the Local Surfer within the surfing subculture of the South West of England. For example: how is the identity of the Local Surfer constructed?; how is the identity of the Local Surfer confirmed?; and, what is the identity of the Local Surfer? It is believed answering these questions will lead to a better understanding of the Local Surfer and consequently the surfing subculture in the South West of England.

Another key idea for this study is “community”. As stated above this originated from previous work by myself that revealed the presence of the Local Surfer within the South-West. Research showed that the Local Surfer was usually bought up in a location near to the beach, in a small village or town where the residents would go surfing in groups together. This is a point overlooked by many other researchers in this field who have ignored locality and place in favour of more generalised identities such as Californian, Australian e.t.c. This prompted questions on community concerning these groups such as: are there communities of local surfers or are there communities with a local surfer population within them?; how does surfing fit into a community in the South-West?; how does each community react to surfers outside the community?; and, would a sense of community exist without surfing in these areas?

Due to the ability to produce ‘rich’ data and my positive previous experience from past studies, it was proposed that an ethnographic approach was taken to this study using methods such as participant observation, field notes and interviews. Participant observation and field notes enabled me to enter the research setting and observe behaviour in everyday life giving me an opportunity to view Local Surfers and be within what participants saw as their community. There was also the opportunity to attend restricted community events such as meetings giving me insight into how community events are

organised and the members of the community involved in this. This initial research also highlighted possible subjects to interview. Semi structured interviews then enabled myself to meet with key subjects within the community in a relatively informal environment throughout the course of the data collection period.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This chapter begins by presenting my sociological interest and its current relevance in academic studies on surfing and in particular the surfing subculture. This leads to introducing the concept and development of the term “subculture” in sociology before looking at the surfing subculture in detail. Focus on the surfing subculture reveals surfing’s origins as a pursuit before its establishment as a subculture in California from where it globalised around the world. Of particular interest is its establishment in England and its development in the South West of England as this is a location long neglected by other academics researching into the surfing subculture. Once the setting for the study has been set in the first section of this chapter, I then move on to present the theoretical focus and sensitising concepts utilised. Initially in this section the application of surfing types taken from my previous study prompted discussion of Weber’s ideal types. However this lead on to presenting the overall theoretical perspective of this study, symbolic interactionism, where issues such as identity, career, place, and community could be presented and discussed in terms of this perspective and its relevance to the surfing subculture. Finally, current key issues in surfing including patriarchy, gender and localism were presented with a view to revealing if and how they exist in the location of this study.

Early interests in surfing focused on producing books that gave an all round introduction to surfing from its history to oceanography (Abbott, 1982; Bloomfield, 1960; Cook & Romeika, 1968; Hemmings, 1977; Klein, 1965; McGregor, 1965; Wilcox, 1982). However, with a more recent increased academic interest in surfing, surfing researchers have turned to disciplines such as physiology (Lowdon, 1980, 1982; Lowdon & Pateman, 1980; Mendez-Villanueva & Bishop, 2005), psychology (Bennett, 2002a, 2002b, 2006; Walker,

Lowdon, & Bond, 1990), and sociology (Butts, 2001; Hull, 1976; Pearson, 1979, 1981), (Booth, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2003, 2004; Booth, Jaggard, & Phillips, 2002; Ford & Brown, 2006; Preston-Whyte, 2002).

The Sociological Study of Surfing

This study will continue on the trend of researching surfing from a sociological perspective. There are important reasons for this approach. The first reason is better understanding social behaviour. Coakley (2001: 2) believes that sociology provides the researcher with “concepts, theoretical approaches, and research methods to describe and understand behaviour and social interaction as they occur in particular social and cultural contexts”. These tools enable the researcher to examine sport as a social activity and as a setting for social relationships and activities that influence our ideas about our social life (Coakley and Donnelly, 1999). Although, Jarvie and Maguire (1994: 2) believe that some researchers view sport as a meaningless object of sociological enquiry, they challenge this view by suggesting that key sociological figures such as Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Simmel all viewed sport as anything but meaningless and that sport features in many key areas of sociological thought including feminism, postmodernism, figurational sociology and cultural studies. Despite the use of sociology within studies of sport becoming more frequent during the beginning of the twentieth century, sociological studies on surfing are still relatively few. The qualities of sociology can be applied to studies of surfing to expose surfing as a socially constructed phenomenon. Although many researchers have realised the opportunities of a sociological perspective within sport, to date these have tended to focus on the most well known surfing locations such as California, Australia and New Zealand.

Popular Locations for the Sociological Study of Surfing

Quite logically, sociological studies of surfing were and still are focused on locations where surfing culture is deeply rooted and strongly linked to the cultural context. For example Pearson (1979), Booth (2001a), Dutton (1983), Law (2001) and Stranger (1999) all base their studies in Australia and New Zealand, and Flynn (1989), Butts (2001), Hull (1976) and George (1991) all base their

studies in America, predominantly California. The reason behind academics choosing similar locations lies in the importance of surfing within that cultural context. Primarily Pearson located the first sociological study of surfing in Australia and New Zealand because at that point in time a sociological study of sport had not been conducted in Australia or New Zealand, something that seemed curious considering what he described as “the reputed addiction of Australians and New Zealanders to sport” (Pearson, 1979:xv). However, it was more importantly noted that Pearson was writing about a sport that “involves almost the whole population.” and what was regarded as one of the key symbols at that time for “down under” (Pearson, 1979:xv). This gap was also the case for California. As the surfing subculture developed it was inextricably linked with California “to the point where it became hard to distinguish where surfing’s culture left off and the state’s indigenous culture began” (George, 1991: 67). Therefore, quite logically, sociological studies of surfing were and still are focused on locations where surfing culture is deeply rooted and strongly linked to the cultural context.

Given this tendency, it is noticeable that very few studies have ever considered the surfing subculture in England. This is even more surprising given that interest in surfing in England and in particular Cornwall has grown dramatically in the past two decades. Any sociological studies at this point in time that have researched into surfing within England have been unpublished works including Beaumont (2007), Meredith (2003), Williams (2002), the later two of which focused on Newquay in Cornwall. This study is therefore taking advantage of this void in research within England and will specifically focus on South East Cornwall.

The Sociological Study of Subcultures

Although theory relating to subculture could be placed within the section entitled ‘Sensitising Concepts’ it seems logical to introduce the term at this point as it ‘sets the stage’ before presenting the history of surfing and its development into a subculture.

According to Clarke (1974) the term “subculture”, whether or not it was in current usage before its inclusion within sociology, is now a feature of everyday language. The terms use in sociology originated from writers such as Gordon (1947) who although lay no claim to origination of the term, promoted the gains that could be made from its extensive use in his paper *The Concept of the Sub-Culture and its Application* (Gordon, 1947). However, the term and its use in this study requires some justification and clarification as it has attracted considerable criticism particularly when applied to youth, music and style (Wheaton, 2007). Since the first use of “subculture” within sociology, many academics have found the term to be imprecise and unclear making it a very unsatisfactory explanatory concept (Fine and Kleinman, 1979). Clarke (1974) even suggested that had the concept not become a feature of everyday language, the term would have been rejected by sociologists as being useless for its lack of clarity. Crosset and Beal (1997:74) feel this is particularly evident in the terms application within sports studies stating that the term “has been employed so widely and with such variety within studies of sport that the very concept risks losing its explanatory power” Much of the preliminary work within subcultural studies into youth, delinquents and deviance (most notably at the Chicago school) (Donnelly, 2000) seemed to reinforce the belief that the term was imprecise and unclear (Fine and Kleinman, 1979).

However, sociologists began to tackle the ambiguity of the term and concept of “subculture”, focusing on resolving issues regarding definition and meaning. Subsequently, as Donnelly (1981) notes, many researchers created definitions in order to meet their own specific needs. Therefore, it is important to state the definitions of subculture to be used within this study. In what follows I shall arrive at a working definition that is appropriate for this study and in addition for a broader application of the term as well. To begin, an original definition of subculture is that given by Gordon who defined subculture as:

a concept used here to refer to a sub-division of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as

class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual.

(Gordon, 1947: 40)

Donnelly (1981) contends that Gordon's definition is extremely broad, a point which could explain its wide use within sociological studies. Donnelly (2000) supports the definition given by Jary and Jary (1995: 665) that defines the term subculture as "any system of beliefs, values, norms...shared and actively participated in by an appreciable minority of people within a particular culture". A further definition is taken from Clarke *et al* (1976: 13) who define subcultures as "subsets-smaller more localised and differentiated structures" within the larger cultural class configuration". Hebdige (1988) notes that the meaning of subculture is always disputed because many researchers differ in their theoretical perspective. However, in their own ways, all the above definitions can be brought together to help illuminate the surfing subculture, which is the focus of this study.

As mentioned, a sociological interest in subcultures began in the areas of youth, delinquents and deviance. Academic work on sporting subcultures came through a natural development from studies concerning ideas of deviancy. For example, Cohen (1955) made the transition from studying deviant careers to the study of non-deviant careers, which eventually led to the study of sports careers (a concept that will be discussed in some depth further in this literature review). This in turn developed to the academic study of sporting subcultures. Crosset and Beal (1997) noted that the term subculture was suited to what they view as 'off beat' sports such as surfing, a point supported by Wheaton (2007:285) who found that 'alternative sports' were productive sites for subcultural studies. Crosset and Beal (1997:80) believed this was because surfers "relish the distinction from larger society" being "highly regarded...if they 'drop out' of the dominant culture to devote more time to the sport".

One of the first sociologists to bring to light the relationship between surfing and subculture was Kent Pearson in 1979. Based in Australia, Pearson began surfing in the late 1950s and competed successfully in the Australian Surf Life Saving (SLS) movement. However, in his time the SLS was being threatened with the surfing lifestyle that had travelled over from California in 1955. Pearson took the opportunity to compare the Surf Life Savers with Surf Board Riders in 1979 when he published his book *Surfing Subcultures of Australia and New Zealand* and in 1981 in a chapter entitled *Subcultures in Sport* within Loy *et al's* text *Sport, Culture and Society: A Reader on the Sociology of Sport*. After the death of Kent Pearson in 1983, progress within the sociological world of surfing paused. However interest became renewed in the 2000s with researchers such as Booth who devoted several studies to the topic (Booth, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2004). At the same time surf journalists such as Kampion wrote several sociologically informed popular surfing books (1989, 1997, 2003, 2007) and edited prestigious surfing magazines such as *Surfer*, *Surfing*, *Wind Surf* and *Wind Tracks* (Kampion, 2006).

Simultaneously, research into the so-called “extreme sports” subcultures or “adventure sports” subcultures became a growing area of interest as the importance and growth of these sports and pursuits in recent years was increasingly observed (Wheaton, 2004b). Belinda Wheaton’s text *Understanding Lifestyle Sports* (2004a) is indicative of this recognition with particular interest in the chapter by Douglas Booth entitled *Surfing: from one (cultural) extreme to another*. Therefore, while interest has increased in recent years into “extreme sports” such as surfing, there remains an opportunity in which to continue growth on subcultural work within this area.

The Roots of Surfing

Although surfing dates back to before A.D. 400 (the speculated date of migration by the Polynesians to Hawaii by Margan and Finney (1970) and Finney and Houston (1996), its emergence as a subculture began after surfing’s renaissance in California during the 1950s. Surfing before this time was deeply embedded in Hawaiian mainstream culture and it is worth giving a brief

summary on surfing before this date as it provides a comparison for later developments.

After the mass migration of Polynesians to Hawaii in approximately A.D. 400, little is written about Hawaii until the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. Western literature on surfing began at this point when Captain James Cook described natives surfing off the coast of Hawaii in the third volume of his book, *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean*. His description of the event was as follows:

Whenever, from stormy weather, or any extraordinary swell at sea, the impetuosity of the surf is increased to its utmost height, they choose that time for this amusement which is performed in the following manner: twenty or thirty of the natives, taking each a long narrow board, rounded at the ends, set out together from shore. The first wave they meet, they plunge under, and suffering it to roll over them, rise again beyond it, and make the best of their way by swimming, out to sea...As soon as they have gained, by these repeated efforts, the smooth waters beyond the surf, they lay themselves at length on their boards, and prepare for their return..., their first object is to place themselves on the summit of the largest surge, by which they are drawn along with amazing rapidity toward the shore.

(Cook, 1778 in Cook and Romeika, 1968: 10)

Explorative sailors like Captain James Cook exposed Hawaii to the world which in turn brought literature to surfing. However in doing this Cook also ultimately began surfing's downfall in its native home. Hawaii's geographical position meant that ports were rapidly built bringing ships from the Western world (Barr *et al*, 2005). European ships brought with them diseases unknown to the Hawaiians causing a significant reduction in the native population (Pearson, 1979, Barr *et al*, 2005). Following this, in 1821 Calvinist missionaries arrived from Boston. Since the arrival of the Europeans, Hawaiians had been questioning their gods. They had seen the rich and successful foreigners who

did not respect their Kapu system and therefore were easily won over by the Christian missionaries (Finney and Houston, 1996). Surfing was discouraged in their new religion on account of the nudity, gambling and neglect of religious duties involved in the pursuit (Cook and Romeika, 1968, Dixon, 1966 and Lueras, 1991, Pearson, 1979). One piece of literature written by a missionary described the “evils” of surfing being the loss of life, severe wounds, maiming or crippling, and poverty through gambling (Finney and Houston, 1966). In a short time the missionaries had changed the way of life for most Hawaiians. A visitor to Hawaii in 1838 noted that customs on the island had changed and exercises such as surfing had been suppressed. The visitor blamed the missionaries for impressing their opinions upon the minds of the chiefs that “all who practice them, secure themselves the displeasure of offending heaven” (Finney and Houston, 1996: 54). In retaliation to the comments made by the visitor, Hiram Bingham, a defender of mission policy replied;

The decline and discontinuation of the use of the surfboard, as civilisation advances, may be accounted for by the increase in modesty, industry and religion, without supposing, as some have affected to believe, that missionaries caused oppressive enactments against it.

(Bingham, 1847 in Finney and Houston, 1996: 54)

The missionary William Ellis also wrote an account of surfing in 1831, yet he did so with little negativity. Ellis described how the surfers;

poise on [the waves] highest edge, and, paddling as it were with their hands and feet, ride on the crest of the wave, in the midst of the spray and the foam...frequently change[ing] their positions on the board, sometimes standing erect in the midst of the foam.

(1831, pg number not stated)

However, outside forces continued a decline in Hawaiian ancestry and by the 19th Century Hawaii had a western government, western beliefs and a new Christian religion (Barr *et al*, 2005). It is not surprising that surfing, so deeply rooted in the Hawaiian culture struggled to survive during this period.

However, surfing's decline in Hawaii was not to last long. In the early 1900s European settlers, who were unintentionally responsible for the decline of surfing, rediscovered the pursuit alongside the native Hawaiians launching a renaissance in surfing (Pearson, 1979, Finney and Houston, 1996). This era is particularly prevalent within popular surfing literature because of the rapid changes that occurred taking surfing from Hawaiian mainstream culture to surfing as a subculture.

This renaissance of surfing within this period occurred for two reasons; the Hawaiian Outrigger Canoe Club, and Duke Kahanamoku. The Hawaiian Outrigger Canoe Club was established on 1st May 1908 by the surfing promoters in Honolulu for the purpose of "preserving surfing on boards and in Hawaiian outrigger canoes." (Finney and Houston, 1996: 61). It consisted of an acre of beachfront property complete with facilities for dressing and a grass hut for storing surf boards. It increased interest in surfing on the island so much that a surfing festival was held within a few months of the club opening in honour of a visiting American battleship (Finney and Houston, 1996). Duke Kahanamoku's impact on surfing in Hawaii also began in the early 1900s (Noll and Gabbard, 1989) but his influence on the pursuit reached a peak in the 1920s. Although the Hawaiian Outrigger Canoe Club had already been established, Cook and Romeika (1968) credit Kahanamoku with forming the first "modern" surf club in Hawaii. Kahanamoku named the surf club "Hui Nalu" meaning "Club of the Waves". Walker (2008) writes that "Hui Nalu" served to subvert colonial discourses that Hawaiian men were passive, unmanly and invisible and in doing so confronted the political Haole (white) elites who had recently overthrown Hawaii's native government. However, Kahanamoku cannot only be credited for the surfing renaissance in Hawaii, as he was also responsible for bringing the pursuit to a global stage at this time in both California and Australia. From this point surfing spread in Australia just as fast as it did in California but, due to the very different cultural context, in a completely

different way. It is at this point, in the 1950s, that the surfing subculture emerged in California.

The Beginning of Surfing as a Subculture

After the interruption of the Second World War surfing was able to continue its influence over California challenging the constraints of 1950s society (Dixon, 2001). Surfers found freedom in the water and fun on the beach where they could meet other surfers, drink freely, and become involved with California's elite movie and television community (Dixon, 2001). It was because of these circumstances that the surf movie industry was born, causing a rapid rise in the popularity of surfing and continuing the progression of surfing as a subculture. The first of these and probably the most important was the movie "Gidget". Gidget was based on the true story of Kathy Kohner who learnt to surf in Malibu in the shadow of the local male surfers Mickey Dora, Terry "Tubestreak" Tracey, Billy "Moondoggie" Bengston, and Bill Jenson (Booth, 1996). George (1991) believes that Gidget "blew the whole thing wide open" and a fad was born where everyone wanted to be "just like those cats in California" (George, 1991: 66). Other surfing films such as "Wet and Wild", "Endless Summer" and "Ride the Wild Surf" further expanded the popularity of surfing. On realising the commercial success of surfing within the movie industry, other mediums began to "cash in" on surfing's rapidly growing popularity. Music developed a new genre called "Surf music" which included bands like The Beach Boys (from California) singing "Surfin' USA", and Jan and Dean doing "the Surfer Stomp" (George, 1991 and Holmes, 1991). Surf films and surf music combined to jumpstart surfing's commercial popularity and ultimately place California at the centre and launch of a distinctive and different type of surfing subculture, which then launched from there out to the world. As George states; "Fashion, music, commercialism-surfing in California started it all" (1991: 67).

It is worth noting that men dominated the origins of the surfing subculture. Cook's description of Hawaiian surfing in 1778 contains descriptions of women surfers (Dixon, 1966) and Patterson (1960) believes Hawaiian women frequently

surfing with men and were known for their prowess within surfing. However, during the emergence of this subculture, women were minimalised within surfing with surfing taking a more fraternal structure (Booth, 2001). Gidget is an example of this marginalisation occurring during the 1950s. Gidget not only presented surfing to the world, but also highlighted issues of sexism within surfing at this point in time. The role of women in the surfing subculture from its origins to the present is discussed later when I consider the combined issues of Gender, Fratriarchy and Localism.

Throughout the formation of the surfing subculture around the world there came a point when surfing the Hawaiian pursuit also became surfing the sport. The definition of sport and the difference from a sport to other comparable terms such as pastime, hobby or leisure pursuit is a widely discussed topic and one that must be addressed here so that in the remainder of this study there is an understanding of what is being referred to when discussing surfing; sport or pursuit. Although there are many suggestions as to what surfing is as Mackert (2005: 3) states “on the one hand it is of course a sport, but on the other, it also represents a virtual spiritual world” and “surfing is a sport and a way of life”, the phrase pursuit as illustrated below, is seen as the most appropriate word to associate with surfing.

The definition of sport is contested terrain however what is constant through many definitions of sport is the element of competition and external rewards. According to Coakley (2001: 20);

Sports are institutionalised competitive activities that involve vigorous exertion or the use of relatively complex physical skills by individuals whose participation is motivated by a combination of personal enjoyment and external rewards

Similarly Chandler, Lindsay, Cronin and Vamplew, (2002: 191) note that sport is “a structured, goal oriented, competitive, contest based, ludic, physical activity”. A term that can be used in comparison to sport and one that seems most applicable to surfing in its early years is pursuit. A pursuit is defined as

“any occupation, pastime, or the like in which a person is engaged regularly or customarily” (dictionary.reference.com, 2010a). This is very much in line with the Hawaiian form of surfing that began to spread around the world. However, once surfing the pursuit had globalised to places such as California and Australia, surfers began to establish surfing the sport, attempting to do it in its homeland, Hawaii. This quote from Dave Gilovich suggests that the formation of surfing as a sport was a conscious decision, one that many believe was made in 1975 by a group of surfers including Shaun Thomson and Rabbit Bartholomew on the North Shore of Hawaii;

Surfing reflected sort of a counter culture idea, that there was this mainstream way of doing things and looking at things and the coolest of the cool would kind of forgo you know our normal job and let's just kind of escape and get away from normal society and that was kind of what was going on and then this new group came along and said no no we're not going to do that at all in fact we want to bring professionalism we want to make surfing into a sport

(Gosch, 2008)

However this decision was met with anger by the Hawaiians who felt that surfing as a pursuit was one of the last areas of their culture not to be destroyed by the western world, exhibited here in a quote from Rabbit Bartholomew who was verbally and physically abused for his attempts to make surfing into a sport and was confronted by a Hawaiian surfer;

he really gave me a dressing down about uh, and he brought up the fact that the Hawaiian culture, and we'd offended the culture because they, the Hawaiians were losing everything and you know basically the Western world was coming and taking their land and everything and surfing was the last bastion and you know I, I got it, I got it, I could understand that we'd enraged them.

(Gosch, 2008)

It is this feeling that the Hawaiians had that still today divides the surfing culture and has in some way help form the surfing types developed in my

previous study, in particular the soul surfer who is characterised by turning their back on commercialism during this time and keeping surfing as a pursuit. However, the local surfer in particular encapsulates both the dislike for commercialism and the possessiveness over land that the Hawaiians felt, giving insight into how the local surfer may feel towards surfing as a sport. This raises a question to be addressed in this study: does the local surfer view surfing as a pursuit or a sport?

The Surfing Subculture Spreads Globally

Before surfing was firmly established as a subculture, surfing began its global spread through the migration of surfing bodies. The first evidence we have of this is through the Polynesians from the islands of Tahiti and Bora Bora to Hawaii around A.D. 400 (Margan and Finney, 1970; Finney and Houston, 1996). The Polynesians quite literally brought surfing from their home countries to their new home of Hawaii.

California

A second example we have of the global spread of surfing through surfing bodies lies in Duke Kahanamoku. As an Olympic record holder in 100-metre freestyle swimming, Kahanamoku travelled the globe. Whilst on his way to the Olympic trials in Chicago in 1912 he passed through California giving surfing exhibitions from San Diego to Santa Barbara (Dixon, 1968, Dixon, 2001). Although Kahanamoku may have had the most influence concerning surfing on the Californians, he was not the first Hawaiian to demonstrate surfing to California. In 1907 an Irish-Hawaiian called George Freeth left for California sponsored by the Redondo-Los Angeles Company. He was chosen to promote water sports to the Californian public whose interest in ocean recreation was just beginning (Finney and Houston, 1996). Kahanamoku captured the interest that Freeth had begun in 1907, acting as a catalyst for surfing in California.

Australia

It was swimming, however, that continued to transport Kahanamoku round the world and continue the global spread of surfing. In 1915 Kahanamoku was invited to Australia for a swimming exhibition (Finney and Houston, 1996). At

this point the Australians had become frustrated with surfing, they had heard of the phenomenon and had tried several attempts of making and riding their own boards with little success (Finney and Houston, 1996). Duke Kahanamoku's visit provided them with the chance to learn from "the master". Kahanamoku built a board from local wood and demonstrated the Hawaiian pursuit of surfing.

Unlike the Californians, the Australians placed surfing within an existing organisation that later became known as the Surf Life Saving Association of Australia (SLSA) (Finney and Houston, 1996). Surfing existed in Australia this way until 1955 when a group of Californians visited Australia, bringing with them the surf culture and the Malibu board of California (Dixon, 2001). Australian surfers such as Bernard "Midget" Farelly observed the Californians and pursued this new way of wave riding, an overview of which Farelly gives in the book *This Surfing Life* (McGregor, 1965). Farelly confirmed Australia's new era in surfing when he won the 1962 Makaha International Surfing Championship on a Malibu board (Dixon, 2001). Farelly was then followed by Nat Young and Bob McTavish, two other Australian surfers wishing to experience the "Californian" way (Dixon, 2001). It was at this point Pearson (1979) considers a divide between Surf Life Savers and surf board riders appeared.

Africa

In fact it was the SLSA of Australia that then continued surfing's global spread into countries such as South Africa and England. Although surfing was already evident in Africa there was a difference between the surfing of the coastal people of Senegal and the Ivory Coast, to the Surfing of Hawaii and Australia. Hawaiian surfing is thought to have reached South Africa via an African swimming coach (whose name is unknown) who headed to Sydney, Australia, in 1938 for the Empire Games. Interest in surfing continued in South Africa through World War Two and in the 1950s the South Beach Surf Board Club was formed in Durban (Finney and Houston, 1996).

France

Unlike the aforementioned locations, Finney and Houston (1996) believe surfing in France did not begin with the migration of surfing bodies, it arrived through “the successful diffusion of an idea” (Finney and Houston, 1996). Swimming enthusiasts had read about surfing and discovered published plans of surfboards and studied the techniques needed in books before setting out to build their own board and teach themselves how to surf (Finney and Houston, 1996). In contrast to this is the recent research carried out by getwashed.com (2010) who believe that surfing in France originated around 1896 with résiniers (forest workers, who took the resin from the trees) who would ride in on trunks of trees washed overboard from large sailing ships returning from the African coast. They then continued this idea by splitting the wood in order to improve buoyancy forming what was termed a “coungeate” with those riding them being known as “Coungatataous” (getwashed.com, 2010).

England

Surfing was already “in the air” in England at this time because as an ex British colony, Hawaii had strong links with Britain. Britain’s association with Hawaii became popular during the early 1900s after the Prince of Wales, Edward Albert Windsor, visited the Hawaiian islands and learnt to surf from “the great” Duke Kahanamoku (Barr *et al*, 2005). This influenced a British boys’ magazine to run the article *Surf Riding is Fine Fun* and in 1934 there opened the world’s first wave pool in London (Barr *et al*, 2005 and Warshaw, 2005). At this time literature also had a strong influence on spreading surfing globally. In France for example, swimming enthusiasts read about the pursuit and by examining published plans of surfboards and studying techniques in books, they were able to construct their own boards and teach themselves how to surf (Finney and Houston, 1996). From the differing accounts of many surfing historians it is possible to agree with the Stormrider Guide and state that the identity of the first people or person to surf in England is surrounded in conjecture. Nigel Oxendew is credited as being the UK’s first surfer, however he did not surf in UK waters. He learnt to surf in 1919 under the tutelage of Duke Kahanamoku in Waikiki (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1992). On his return in 1923 Nigel Oxendew

formed the Island Surf Club of Jersey, yet this seemed to have little effect on mainland England (Wade, 2007). However recent evidence has been found which shows the first surfing in UK waters took place in Cornwall during the 1920s and was in fact undertaken by a group of working class London teenagers on holiday. A programme called *Sea Fever* shown on the BBC in 2010 gathered historical footage showing English people's relationship with the sea (Parker, 2010). One piece of footage taken by Lewis Rosenberg during the 1920s contained footage of him and a group of friends going to Cornwall on their holidays and surfing in the sea. Roger Mansfield, a surfing expert, commented on the footage and confirmed it to be the earliest surfing film taken in Britain (Parker, 2010). With so little evidence of surfing in Britain at this point in time it is from Australia we can be sure that these teenagers were influenced. Ivor Gaber, the son of one of the teenagers featured in the footage said that the group had gone to a news theatre where once a week news and features were shown from around the world. One feature they saw was taken in Australia and it contained footage of surfing. Ivor Gaber believes that this is what had inspired them to make their own boards and travel to Cornwall to surf. At this point in time this event is the earliest form of surfing in England and it is possible to say that surfing globalised over from Australia to England via the media. However, this event was small and contained and had little influence on the rest of the England. The Stormrider Guide believes that from these first fledgling efforts in the mid 1920s, surfing then lay dormant for nearly four decades (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1998). Many surfing historians believe that mainland England received its first experience of surfing in 1953 when Surf Life Saver Allan Kennedy travelled from Australia to England to experience the untouched waves of England. He set up the first Surf Life Saving club in Bude, Cornwall that was also the first Surf Life Saving club in Europe (Finney and Houston, 1996, Alderson, 2000 and Warshaw, 2005). Holmes and Wilson (1994) and Warshaw (2005) believe that the move then by Newquay's local government in 1959 to supply full-time lifeguards at the popular beaches extending from Watergate to Great Western, and from Tolcarne to Fistral continued to open up the English mainland coast to surfing. These lifeguards

used hollow surf skis to begin with but during the 1960s progressed to using the first wooden paddle boards (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1998). The Stormrider Guide (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1998) disagrees with many historians and claims a group of Australian surfers consisting of Bob Head, Ian Tilley, John Campbell and Warren Mitchell came to England in 1961 for the holiday season and gave a display of surfing on the first fibreglass and foam boards. Chris Power, editor of Carve magazine, notes however that it was the small number of long boarders at Fistral during this period that really began the popularity of surfing which has been rising every year ever since (Wade, 2007). John Adams, a native surfer to these areas during the 1960s explains that despite its contradicting origins the surfing scene during this time was concentrated on the north coast of Cornwall, at Porthmeor beach in St Ives, Newquay and down the coast at Sennen Cove (Wade, 2007). Despite these changing times a surfer described that in Newquay at this point in time you had to find someone to go surfing with. However once surfing became established in England, it was difficult to stop the surfing culture that had been formed in California from entering England. As The Stormrider Guide (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1998: 52-53) states, "Suddenly every city kid without a wave to his name tuned into a youth cult that stormed out of California and...as soon as people realised that it was possible to surf in Cornwall, surfing was here for good".

The Surfing Subculture in England Today

Historically England was not considered to be a surfing nation (Conway, 1988) shown in John Severson's choice to omit England from his 1964 book *Modern Surfing Around the World*, due to what Wade (2007: 97) describes as "the idea of there being quality surf in the UK...evidently not filter[ing] through to Severson" a point which Wade (2007: 7) supports himself when stating "Ours is not a country that the world regards as synonymous with surfing" it is, he continues all too often considered the court jester of surfing. These historical but ever present viewpoints can go some way in explaining the lack of research within surfing carried out in this area of the world. However, despite the possible lack of an association between England and surfing, the surfing subculture arrived in England during the 1960s and has never left since.

Although England can be considered an unlikely spot for surfing because of its contrasting weather conditions to Hawaii, California and Australia, the mild Southwest coasts of Devon and Cornwall receive a North Atlantic swell that regularly creates perfect conditions for surfing. It was these surfing conditions that initially attracted the debated first surfers to England and in particular Cornwall, and continues to attract surfers from across the globe to England today. From the 1980s onwards the surfing subculture grew in England and by 2003 there were 30,000 surfers and approximately 35 surf shops, and by 2007 there was an estimated 50,000 surfers and few towns across the country, both inland and on the coast, where you couldn't buy a wet suit and a surf board (Warshaw, 2005, Alexander, 2007 and Alderson, 2000). The Stormrider Guide estimated in 1998 that there were 150 surf shops both in coastal towns and inland (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1998). To confirm England's necessity for wet suits and surfboards, English surfing retail companies began to appear beginning with Gul in 1967 followed by Animal in 1987 and Saltrock in 1988. Since the 1960s there were also the beginnings of several style, lifestyle and fashion magazines (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1998). These commercial changes are noted by Barkham (2006) as highlighting the end of surfing as the domain for gilded young men and for democratisation to sweep away elitism in favour of brands. To summarise his point Barkham states, "surfing may have begun as a counter cultural trickle, frozen out of British popular culture by small seas and an inconsiderate climate. Now it is a vast breaker" (2006). Surfing's commercial presence in England however has caused a divide among surfers which forms the backbone for this study. When interviewed by Alex Wade (2007), Penwith local surfer Jonty Henshall stated that many new surfers have been moulded by a perceived sense of what they think a surfer should be, a perception driven by corporate marketers which has lead to new surfers covering themselves in logos, paddling out at unfamiliar breaks and behaving ignorantly. This supports the Stormrider Guide's belief that the summer season has been divided into two very distinct seasons; May to September when Cornwall is described as being awash with money, discos, packed surfing breaks, hippies, punks, travellers and poseurs, then October to April when the

waves become consistently better and the amount of beaches where the waves are rideable means that surfers can often be in the water on their own (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1998). Although he agrees that the diverse surfing community that exists in Britain is a good thing, Henshall goes on to say that so many surfers do not have a clue as to what they are doing (Wade, 2007). This goes some way to explaining that despite the surfing subculture's rapid and vast dissemination throughout England in 2007, English surfers were a minority on the professional circuit with our only world champion being Martin Potter, an English surfer who owes his talent to his training ground of South Africa (Wade, 2007). Competitive surfing in England itself has also been severely let down by the flat seas in England around the summer and according to the Stormrider Guide in 1998, "the ASP events have come and gone, but the dismal reality of holding an expensive media-inspired operation in Newquay in mid-summer isn't an attractive prospect" (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1998: 54).

The importance that the South West of England and in particular Cornwall has in terms of the surfing subculture's presence in England has already been noted above. As the Cornwall Guide (2010: web site) states "Cornwall's location, jutting straight out into the Atlantic Ocean, makes it a magnet for swell. Combine this with its milder climate and a plethora of excellent beaches and you have the UK's premier surf destination". Cornwall is also the venue for the Fistril Boardmasters, one of the biggest professional surfing competitions in Europe which has been running for over ten years and attracting some of the biggest names in the surfing world (Cornwall Guide, 2010). These honours placed on Cornwall are ones that have, until recently, gone unchallenged from anywhere else in England, yet despite these recent challenges it still carries a reputation for surfing and the surfing subculture that any other location in England will find hard to live up to.

In summary, the surfing subculture within the South West of England and in particular Cornwall is an understudied social phenomenon and as such provides a prime theme and location for this study. Moreover, the varied

nature of the spread of the surfing subculture into England and why individuals and communities might adopt and adapt this subculture, along with the consequences of these, poses a series of questions that will be explored in this study.

Theoretical Focus and Sensitising Concepts

Having exposed some of the gaps in the surfing literature and how this study will attempt to fill them, focus now turns to the theoretical elements informing this study. As the Local Surfer is going to be at the heart of this study the theory surrounding this surfer must be discussed. Firstly, this involves presenting Weber's concept of ideal types before moving on to address issues of identity, career and community.

Weber's concept of "Ideal Typing"

The "types" of surfer established within my MSc study (Beaumont, 2007) are an application of "ideal typing", a concept heuristically devised and initially developed by Weber in *Objectivity in the Social Sciences and Social Policy*, (1905). Weber wanted to fully understand human action and overcome the ambiguity and lack of clarity within Sociology so developed "prototypes" of the concepts under consideration (Cantelon and Ingham, 2002). According to Heckman (1997:237), the purpose of the "prototypes", i.e. ideal types, was to "provide a means of comparison with concrete reality in order to reveal the significance of that reality". Coser (1977) believes that the researcher achieves this by using the ideal type as a "measuring rod" or "yardstick" against subjects or data to determine similarities and deviations. This gives the researcher "a way of talking and thinking about events, processes and experiences to yield a more usable knowledge, to develop hypotheses, to deduce consequences and to make predictions." (Gusfield, 1975: 12). Ideal types are what Jarvie and Maguire (1994: 46) describe as "conceptual abstractions that highlight the core features of specific social formations". "Conceptual abstractions" are a selection of elements picked out and accentuated by the researcher in order to construct an ideal type that represents the "specific social formations" being discussed (Parkin, 1982). However, there is some disagreement on how the elements of

the ideal types are chosen. Jarvie and Maguire (1994) take the view that the elements chosen represent the “core features of specific social formations” and therefore are uninfluenced or changed by the study and exist detached to it (a view supported by Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner, 2000). Parkin (1982) however suggests that the elements accentuated or played down are a choice made by the researcher who is influenced by the particular problems and questions of the study. Weber himself acknowledged that a selection of elements involves “one-sided accentuation”:

An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasised viewpoints into a unified analytical construct.

(Weber, 1904/1949: 90)

In order for the ideal type to perform effectively in a study it is understandable that the accentuation and playing down of elements must occur in order to achieve a suitably appropriate ideal type and therefore I align myself with Weber.

Cantelon and Ingham (2002) highlight that a number of studies within the sociology of sport that explicitly use ideal typing. These include Eric Dunning’s contrast between folk games and modern sports found in *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players: A Sociological Study of the Development of Rugby Football* (Dunning and Sheard, 1979) which in Cantelon and Ingham’s opinion exemplifies Weber’s ideal type. A further example that they highlight is Allen Guttmann’s use of the methodology in his popular book *From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports* (1978). Pearson (1979) and Booth (2003) apply the use of ideal types within their studies of surfing to construct and discuss various types of surfers. The most comprehensive use of ideal typing within surfing appears in Pearson’s studies on Surf Life Savers and Surf Board Riders (1979 and 1981). In his book *Surfing Subcultures of Australia and New Zealand* and in particular the

chapter *Subcultures and Sport* Pearson aims to examine the characteristically different groups of the Surf Life Saver and the Surf Board Riders, the types of people involved in the two groups, and the nature of their lifestyles. Booth (2003) used Weber's theory on ideal types to identify the six primary styles adopted by surfers. Booth identified these primary styles to be: the hedonism of Hawaiian beachboys; the highly structured and regimented sporting club lifestyle of Australian lifesavers; the carefree, fun lifestyles of Californians; the subversive spirituality of soul surfers, the clean-cut, health-driven, professional surfer athletes; and the aggressive nihilism of the abusive (punk) generation. The above authors approach to the use of ideal types and their subsequent development in relation to types of surfers provided an initial theoretical stimulus to my MSc study which was a catalyst for this study as seen below.

Surfing Types

My MSc study focused on the style and ideology of certain "types" within the surfing subculture. As Wade (2007: 10) states "there are inevitably cultural, historical and sociological differences among all the surfers" which highlights the existence of different types of surfer. This focus on surfing types originated from several studies identifying different types of surfers within the surfing subculture. The types identified from previous literature included the Wannabe, the Soul Surfer and the Sponsored Surfer. These types were viewed as ideal types, a Weberian concept which is presented in a later section of this literature review that addresses the theoretical literature underpinning this study. No existing typology (Pearson, 1981 and Loy *et al*, 1978) or study (Williams, 2002) could categorise these ideal types because they did not take into account issues of style and ideology. Therefore the style and ideology of the ideal types of surfers became the focus of the MSc study. Interviews were conducted with members of the surfing subculture in the South West of England to explore the links between the surfing types style and ideology. Data from the interviews confirmed a link between the style and ideology of surfing types and also revealed further information such as the existence of a further type, the Local Surfer, and the fact that surfers could move through the types. This revealed that although the typology was fixed with specific types

remaining distinctive from each other, surfers could move fluidly from one type to another over their surfing “career”.

As stated above, the Local Surfer was discovered in Beaumont (2007) and therefore little information exists on this surfing type beyond this study and outside of conceptual abstractions emphasising their ideology and style. Beaumont (2007) discovered that in terms of style, the conceptual abstractions of the local surfer included a rejection of large company brand names and a resistance to display large logos. In terms of ideology, the local surfer was usually taught and encouraged by a member of their family, in particular their father, and they had a strong relationship with their local waters, initiated by their proximity to them (Beaumont, 2007). As so little is known about the Local Surfer who, as their name suggests, is so deeply rooted in their location, it is proposed that this study focuses on the Local Surfer in particular in order to expand what is known about this type beyond their style and ideology.

Although focus will be on the Local Surfer, it is anticipated that data will also arise on the other surfing types noted in Beaumont (2007). These were the Wannabe, the Soul Surfer and the Sponsored Surfer. The Wannabe had an increasingly expanding population according to Beaumont (2007) and its existence was strongly confirmed during the study and therefore this type is expected to feature within this study despite focus on another surfing type. The conceptual abstractions of the Wannabe noted in Beaumont (2007) was a “preoccupation with the fashion and group identity aspects of surf culture” (Ford and Brown, 2006: 76). Group identity aspects included the “name dropping” of popular surfing locations and conforming to the supposed surfing lifestyle. In terms of surfing, the Wannabe has a low participation rate which indicated a low standard in surfing itself. In Beaumont (2007) it was noted that the Soul Surfer had conceptual abstractions that emphasised the values of spirituality, aesthetics and the quest for inner peace and authenticity (Ford and Brown, 2006) which went in direct opposition to the Wannabe producing a dislike or even hatred for this opposing type. The Sponsored surfer was

confirmed the least in Beaumont (2007) and was seen as being more actively involved in the commercial world of surfing than first thought. Sponsored surfers went beyond their sponsorship and were involved in many business opportunities exploiting themselves and their surfing knowledge for money. It is hoped that because so little is known about the Sponsored surfer, that this study will be able to confirm its existence and provide further grounding on this type and the Wannabe and the Soul surfer in order to pave the way for future research studies concerning these ideal types.

Symbolic Interactionism

A range of issues will be addressed by using the symbolic interactionist perspective which focuses on issues related to meaning, identity, social relationships and most importantly, subcultures in sport (Coakley, 2001). According to Plummer (2000:195), "there are now a number of accounts of the history of symbolic interactionism and it has proved to be contested ground". Plummer goes on to note that in undergraduate sociology George Herbert Mead is credited for laying the foundations for symbolic interactionism while Herbert Blumer coined the term (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). Plummer puts forward that for some the founder is Robert Park (Strauss and Fisher, 1978 cited in Plummer, 2000) and for others taking a more general view it is the Chicago School (Joas, 1987 cited in Plummer, 2000). However it is the work by Mead and Blumer that is long credited with the beginnings of symbolic interactionism and it is their work that is focused on here. As Plummer (2000:197) notes, "Any attempt to produce a history of symbolic interactionism in the twentieth century must hence of necessity be partial and selective".

Many sociologists believe that Mead is responsible for laying the foundation of the symbolic interactionist perspective. This occurred over forty years whilst in post as a philosopher at the University of Chicago where he taught his theory; social behaviourism (Manis and Meltzer, 1978). Mead believed that;

the self is something which has a development; it is not initially there at birth but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that

is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relation to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process

(Mead, 1967:135)

Strongly affiliated to Mead's theories was the work of Herbert Blumer (Mains and Metzger, 1978). In coining the term Blumer wrote that symbolic interactionism refers to;

the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings. This peculiarity consists in the fact that human beings interpret or define each other's actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their response is not made directly to the actions of another but instead is based on the meaning which they attach to such actions. Thus, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning of one another's actions

(Blumer, 1962:180)

From Mead's work, Blumer went on to establish three basic premises: that "human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them"; that "the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows"; and that "these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with things he encounters (Blumer, 1969: 2 cited in Donnelly, 2002: 91). To summarise human beings interact in terms of symbols that define them in a particular way and indicates a response to them (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). Mead believed that without symbols there would be no human interaction and no human society, therefore "symbolic interaction is necessary since humans have no instincts to direct their behaviour" (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 799). Symbolic interactionism.

From the mid 1960s onwards, symbolic interactionism was a popular perspective in use by many academics (Plummer, 2000). However, this popularity then left it open to attack and in the 1970s it began to fall under

severe critique most notably from Mullins and Mullins (1973:98, cited in Plummer, 2000:202).

It is clear that the original ideas that developed within symbolic interactionism, like those of standard American sociology, have run their course intellectually and socially. Some symbolic interactionists are still actively publishing and, as a theory in social psychology, symbolic interactionism still has respectability. As a change maker and general orientation for sociology and as the loyal opposition to structural-functionalism, however, it has come to an end.

However other criticisms included that it was individualising and subjective rather than structural and objective, it was relativist in the extreme, methodologically muddled and confused in its conceptualisations (Plummer, 2000). This sparked what Plummer (2000:203) labels as a premature burial as “within this most recent period, there has been a great deal of productivity”. Criticisms of symbolic interactionism still appear however and in particular it has been noted that symbolic interactionism is unable to deal with social structure (Turner, 1978). Many sociologists consider that interactionist sociology focuses on examining human interaction in a vacuum, focusing on small scale face to face interaction with little concern for its historical or social setting (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). In reaction to these statements Plummer (2000:206) writes that symbolic interaction’s concern with;

the empirical world has always made it recognise the falseness of dualisms such as action and structure; has always made it look at the historical anchorage of social actions; and has always found itself embedded in networks of power. This is not to say that all interactionist work does these things all the time; but it is to say that it can and often does handle these concerns.

Leading on from this criticism Coakley (2001) believes its major weakness is that our attention is focused upon relationships and personal definitions of reality. This is done “without explaining how interaction processes and the construction of meaning in sports are related to social structures and material

conditions in society" (Coakley, 2002: 40). Consequently, connections between sport experiences and sport subcultures and systems of power and inequality that exist in societies, communities, organizations, families and small groups are ignored within symbolic interactionist research. Coakley (2001: 40) concludes that symbolic interactionism "does not tell us much about how sports and sport experiences are related to issues of power and power relations in society as a whole". However, Turner (1987:401) notes that Blumer views the processes of "interpretation, evaluation, definition, and mapping which characterise the interactions among individuals also pertain to interactions among collective units". This study into the surfing subculture within a community was born out of the power struggle that existed between two subcultures and therefore this symbolic interactionist study does not intend to ignore these issues.

Symbolic interactionists tend to focus on small scale interaction situations rather than large scale social change (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991) and therefore the symbolic interactionist approach is employed significantly by sociologists within sport to define and make sense of athletes and their in situ, lived, social world (Coakley, 2001). According to Donnelly (2002) these studies of sport fall into two categories: the first focuses on the process of socialization; the second and for me the most significant category to this study is on studies of sport subcultures. When symbolic interactionists began researching into sport subcultures they focused initially on the individual's "career", a concept that will be explained further when focusing on identity. These studies included Weinberg and Arnold's (1952) work on boxers, Stone's (1972) study of wrestlers and Scott's (1968) work on horse racing. In more recent years, symbolic interactionist studies on sport subcultures shifted focus from "careers" to the cultural characteristics of particular sports (Donnelly, 2002). Examples include Donnelly and Young's (1985 cited in Donnelly, 2002) study on Canadian rugby players, Pearson's (1979) work on surfers in Australia and New Zealand, and Albert's (1984, 1990, 1991 cited in Donnelly, 2002) studies on racing cyclists. Despite this shift I intend to apply the concept of career within

this study as despite the initial focus on careers by symbolic interactionists, it is still a relatively unexplored and underexploited aspect of symbolic interactionism. There is however evidence of symbolic interactionism being applied in sport studies outside of subcultures including studies by Birrell (1981) on sport as a ritual and Elling and Knoppers (2005) work on sport, gender and ethnicity. There is also, according to Scott (2005 cited in Allen-Collinson and Hockey, 2007) the opportunity for symbolic interactionism to be applied to discussions surrounding identity in sport and serious leisure.

Identity

A central concern within the symbolic interactionist approach is the matter of identity. Symbolic interactionism focuses and elevates in importance the idea that humans develop a sense of who we are and how we are connected to the social world, therefore develop our identity (Coakley, 2001). According to Allen Collinson and Hockey (2007), symbolic interactionist perspectives on identity vary on what they describe as a continuum from processual to structural orientations. In the discussion that follows a processual approach to the issue of identity construction will be adopted, informed strongly by a symbolic interactionist perspective.

The issue of identity has been a topic that has moved from the periphery to the centre of sociological study in recent times. According to Hill and Williams (1996: 1) by the mid 1990s identity was becoming “central, even fashionable...among historians and other social scientists with recent focus being on how identities are constructed and who is doing the construction of identities (Benko and Strohmayr, 1997). Identity use within sociology appears within global, national, local and personal levels of context, and sociologists have applied its concept throughout many sport based studies (Donnelly and Young, 1988; Curry and Weiss, 1989; Patzkill, 1990, Real and Mechikoff, 1992 to name a few).

Hargreaves (2000) states that within the twentieth century, identity has come to be defined in terms of culture. Goffman (1969), a symbolic interactionist, also

noted the importance of leisure in the construction of identity most notably in the use of “props” such as clothing and equipment (Allen Collinson and Hockey, 2007). Within these interrelated areas of culture and leisure, the mass culture of sport has most noticeably begun to play a significant role in the construction of identity (Hargreaves, 2000, Dunning, 1999). The relationship between sport and identity is close (Hill and Williams, 1996) and has attracted the attention of many sport sociologists. See for example; Donnelly and Young, 1988 and 1999; Maguire, 1999; Ohl; 2005. Many researchers agree with Weiss (2001) that whether live or via the media, sport reinforces identity through membership of a sports group, a particular sporting role, a sports performance, or through the experience of being a sports spectator. Horne *et al* (1999: 139) concur stating that “becoming involved in sport involves identity construction and confirmation”. MacClancy (cited in Hill and Williams, 1996: 1) considers that sports are vehicles of identity that provide people with a sense of difference and a way of classifying themselves and others. In addition, Mason (1996) suggests that “sport contributes to an enhancement of the individual’s sense of identity” and additionally that through sport “identity is being constantly produced in webs of significance” (cited in Hill and Williams, 1996: 2). Examples of this relationship in action are given by MacClancy (1996) who suggests that the decision by some football fans to name their children after the players in “their” team is an extreme example of a fan identifying with the team. He also cites the less dramatic example of members of the middle classes who join expensive golf or tennis clubs for what they term “social reasons”, i.e. they pay their annual subscription fees not so much out of a love of the particular sport but because they wish to spend part of their leisure time with people they consider their social peers (MacClancy, 1996) thus seeking to confirm a desired identity. However, sport not only serves to enhance a sense of existant social identity, but can also be a means by which to create a new social identity, the parameters of which may not initially be evident to the individual. For example, Goldhurst (1987) observed how the trend within urban societies over the last century to spectate at team sports provided the male offspring of rural emigrants with a communal identity. Once this trend

was firmly established, the sporting clubs provided these men with an inter-generational, sub-cultural marker of identity. Moreover, sport based identities are also not necessarily exclusive to other forms of social identification in the sense that people are able to sustain multiple identities, either simultaneously, seasonally or consecutively (MacClancy, 1996). MacClancy provides a pertinent, if rather gendered example commenting that (a man):

may enjoy in different contexts the identity that comes from being a fly-half in rugby, a committed follower of a football team, a member of the second string in a cross-country running team, and a noted darts player in his local pub

(MacClancy, 1996: 2-3)

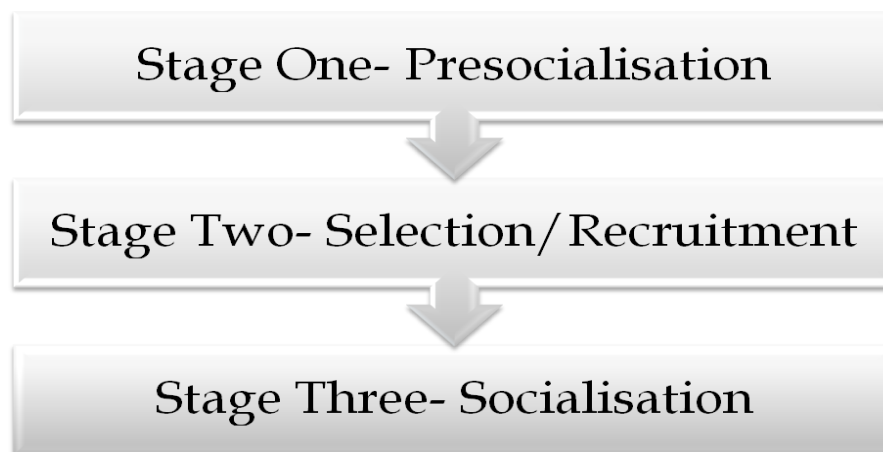
Within this study the concept of identity is essential as there exists many questions on the local surfer and their “sport”, surfing, concerning identity. These questions have largely fuelled the conceptual design and motivation for this study and therefore it is appropriate to present them at this point. Firstly, what is the identity of the local surfer and how do individuals acquire and maintain this identity? Secondly, is there and if so what is the “career” of the Local Surfer and how does this career interact with the social and biological processes of ageing? Thirdly, what are the current issues concerning the surfing subculture and how do they affect and are effected by the Local Surfer? Fourthly and finally, what are the sub-cultural interactions and practices of the Local Surfer type? Literature and theory related to these initial questions is now presented allowing for more focused questions on identity to be explored and better understood through this study.

Conceptualising Identity Construction in the Surfing Subculture

If sport can be one contemporary social activity through which identities may be created, changed or enhanced, then the process by which sport does this must become a significant issue. While many sociologists call the process of identity construction, identity formation, according to Horne *et al* (1999) this is part of the symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective that has yielded a number of significant insights into the socialisation into (and out of) sport. One

of the more fertile examples of this is the work of Donnelly and Young (1988 and 1999) who view this socialisation process as a more deliberative, agentic process of identity construction. Donnelly and Young (1999) outline what they believe are the three stages of identity construction: presocialisation; selection/recruitment; and socialisation (An illustration of which can be seen in Figure One). While these authors' work is focused on rock climbing and rugby players, Donnelly and Young (1988 and 1999) note that conceptually the process of identity construction is still potentially relevant to other sports and therefore can be applied to surfing in this study.

Figure 1.



The first stage of identity construction, *presocialisation* is where non-participants are learning about certain sport subcultures from a variety of sources prior to initial participation within the subculture (Donnelly and Young, 1988). This can include families, peer groups, participants, and most commonly, the media (Young, 1983). Donnelly and Young (1988:225) believe it is important to note that as this is the first phase of identity construction "such tenuous knowledge of a specific subculture frequently results in a caricatured and stereotypical image of the group, and certain misconceptions regarding members' behaviours may be developed". Presocialisation ends once the non-participant makes an attempt to become a participant (Donnelly and Young, 1988). In my previous study of surfing (Beaumont, 2007) I found that presocialisation for the Local

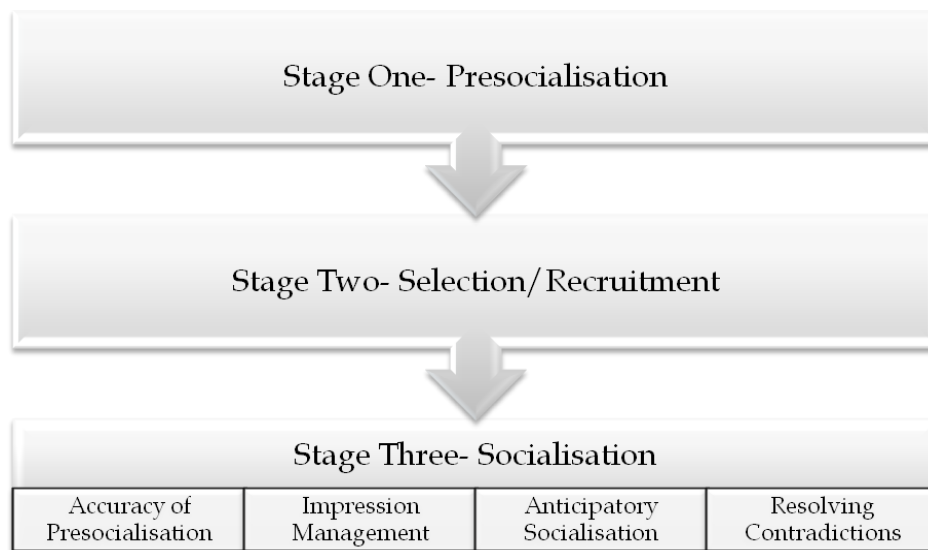
Surfer comes predominantly from families. However, this study provides the opportunity to explore in detail this suggestion and discover what sources the local surfer learnt from and which sources have the most influence. A further, more specific question lies in how these sources influence them to become local surfers in particular, as opposed to another 'type' of engagement with surfing.

The second stage of identity construction is *selection/recruitment* and is the point where "an individual must actually become a member of a specific subculture" (Donnelly and Young, 1988:225). In explaining the stage of selection/recruitment Hogg *et al* (1999) cite an example in the film *Point Break*, a popular surfing film in which an established member of the surfing subculture selects a beginner to join the group because of the motivation and interest the beginner surfer shows. Another example of selection/recruitment is provided by Neal and Walter's (2008) work on membership of the Women's Institute and the Young Farmers Club in rural areas in England. Neal and Walter's (2008) found that only three ways of selection/recruitment existed: through familial lineage links; through friendship networks and familiarity; and through being invited. Although it is valuable to know whether the individual selected then sought out membership or was recruited by a veteran, it is according to Donnelly and Young (1988) necessary to consider the issues that surround this choice which are of higher value and can include "proximity to activity, life circumstances, and even chance in the initiation of subcultural membership" (Donnelly and Young, 1988:225). My previous study suggests that the Local Surfer gets involved in surfing through the lack of anything else to do and the close proximity to the beach. However, this conclusion was drawn from only one interviewee and therefore this study should follow up the question, and explore if there are, the other ways Local Surfers are selected and recruited.

The third and final stage of identity construction is *socialisation* which is "an initially active but ongoing stage wherein members undergo training in the characteristics of the subculture" so that accurate identity construction can

begin (Donnelly and Young, 1988:225). However, in later research carried out by Donnelly and Young (1999), they recognised significant “rookie errors” occurring at this point in the process and subsequently developed a range of second order constructs including accuracy of presocialisation, impression management, anticipatory socialisation, and resolving contradictions which can be viewed in the figure below and will be considered in turn.

Figure Two



Accuracy of presocialisation refers to the rookie’s first exposure to the veterans or established participants when aspects of identity formation during presocialisation are put on view. According to Donnelly and Young (1999:70) “If the presocialisation experiences are accurate then the rookie will have few problems”. As will be discussed later, the Local Surfer may have problems on their first experiences in the water because of the endemic hostility veteran surfers appear to have towards novices. Impression management is a well-known symbolic interactionist concept that involves what Donnelly and Young (1999: 71) describe as “controlling the expression of your true feelings”. They give the example of novice climbers who learn quickly to hide obvious symptoms of fear, never avoiding the opportunity to climb. Anticipatory socialisation is where the rookie spontaneously performs roles they assume are expected of them, only to fail and make a mistake. Donnelly and Young (1999)

again, use the example of climbing to explain this “rookie error”. They explain that the rookies attempt to show climbers and non-climbers that they themselves are a climber by wearing climbing clothes and shoes in non-climbing settings, or carrying equipment or literature concerning climbing. These attempts by the rookie involve using visual symbols to support their identity as a climber. There is little evidence of this found within the Local Surfer according to Beaumont (2007), but is a characteristic more common of the Wannabe. Finally, the last “rookie error” in identity construction is resolving contradictions. This is viewed by Donnelly and Young (1999) as the most important stage of identity construction. The contradictions in question lie “between the expected or apparent values and behaviours, and the true values and behaviours which are acted out for novices, or told to them as subcultural folklore” (Donnelly and Young, 1999: 73). It is already known that hostility exists in the water from veteran local surfers towards novices, this study should attempt to unravel what the novice perceives as expected values and what are actually the apparent values they perceive from the veteran local surfer. This therefore is the end of identity construction in the eyes of Donnelly and Young (1999).

Donnelly and Young’s (1999) experiences of identity construction within rock climbing and rugby lead them to believe that the process of identity construction is followed by a second process, that of identity confirmation. This confirmation process arose after they noticed the point at which a novice began to think of themselves as a participant usually occurred well before the existing participants or veterans thought of them as a fellow participant. According to Donnelly and Young (1999: 68) “In order for the new identity to be accepted, the new peers must confirm it”. Identity confirmation is relatively straightforward in that the novice accepts the actual values of the subculture and the identity of the novice is confirmed by established members of the subculture (Donnelly and Young, 1988). According to Ford and Brown (2006:132) identity confirmation in surfing occurs through a demonstration by the novice of the right embodied qualities while riding the waves which they

view as “good balance, timing, a technical repertoire, [and] a degree of bravado in the face of a potentially dangerous wave”. However the process of identity confirmation is often an ongoing one where participants will often have their identity reconfirmed. Novice participants who are geographically mobile and participants who claim to have accomplished commended achievements are examples of participants who may need to have their identities reconfirmed in order to be trusted by other members of the subculture. However, for novice participants who are unable to meet the requirements of acceptance set by the established subcultural members may face ostracism and/or banishment from the group (Donnelly and Young, 1988).

An identity, however constructed or confirmed, is a contested dynamic concept which should not be regarded as stable and fixed but subject to instability, conflict and change (Pain, 2001). In discussing identity within subcultures Donnelly and Young (1988: 237) agree that “identities of members of subcultures should not be thought of as static positions and entities. They are constantly undergoing revision and change due to a variety of processes both within and outside the subculture.” This was visible within Beaumont (2007) where it was suggested that surfers were mobile, flowing through the fixed typology in ways which meant that at any given period in their surfing career they may exhibit a predominance of characteristics of one type of surfer over another but that equally, these are likely to change over time as well. For example, data from this dissertation proposed that Interviewee C had many characteristics of the Soul surfer but possessed a few characteristics of the “Wannabe”. Most significant was his past ownership and adornment of brand names followed by a recent decision to move away from mainstream brand names. This is significant because it marks a departure from his time as a “Wannabe” and movement towards becoming a Soul surfer. His comment “I suppose as I’ve got older you get less impressionable” (Beaumont, 2007:) is not only evidence of an identity transformation, but suggests that age or maturity can be a reason to why this transformation has occurred. This study provides an opportunity to further explore this interpretation and also pursue further

questions regarding the instability, change and conflict within the local surfers identity. Firstly, can a local surfer come from any other type of surfer? Secondly, can a local surfer hold onto and express any characteristics from their previous type and if so, how does this affect their local surfer identity? Thirdly, if a local surfer changes their identity to another type, how are they treated by other local surfers and is it possible for them to return to being a local surfer? With these questions over transition of identity in mind I turn next to consider another sensitising concept drawn from interactionist sociology, the idea of “career”.

Career

The process of identity construction and confirmation can be seen as the beginnings of what is termed the Local Surfers “career”. This is not career in the sense of a progression through a line of work (in this case professional surfing), but career defined in a broad sense by Goffman (1961: 119) as “any social strand of any person’s course through life”. Donnelly (2000) uses the example that a competitive swimmers career can begin at six and even though they never earn a penny from their swimming, can end when they choose to retire at fourteen. People do not just engage in one career but in many over their lifetime and according to Hastings *et al* (1989) these can include an educational, occupational, familial and leisure/sport career. Although a person can be involved in many careers there will be an emphasis on some more than others by the amount of resources the person commits to the career and they make this decision by justifying the rewards and the costs they associate with each particular career (Hastings *et al*, 1989). While it is tempting to embellish the term with the idea of identity career, this is resisted as Goffman suggests “career” has a broader focus. According to Goffman (1961: 119) the concept of career has two sides, the first referring to “internal matters held dearly and closely, such as image of self and felt identity”, and the second concerning the “official position, jural relations, and style of life, and is part of a publicly accessible institutional complex”. Using the concept of career in this way allows the researcher to focus on and represent how a subject is able to move back and forth between the personal and the public, the self and the significant

society (Goffman, 1961) and according to Galtung (1966) the ascribed and the achieved. The concept of career was initially developed by Goffman (1961) to apply to psychiatric patients, but has been used in other areas of study, including Davies (1984) work on deviance and gender in schools and Riggins" (1990) studies on communication, institution and social interaction. Studies using career developed into the area of sport through Cohen's (1955) work on deviant careers that progressed to non-deviant careers, including sport careers. The concept of career has been widely applied within studies on sport subcultures and includes Stone's (1972 and Stone and Oldenberg, 1967) studies of wrestlers, Scott's (1968) study on horseracing, Polsky's (1969) study of pool hustlers, Faulkener's (1974a, 1974b) study of hockey players, and Crawford (2004), Marsh (1978) and Jones" (2000) work on sport fan "communities". Hastings *et al* (1989: 279) describe sport careers as having age norms that represent what they believe to be the "consensually held presumptions of what people of various ages can or should do in particular competitive settings". They go on to say that coaching and classes in a sport mark the beginning of a youthful competitive career that usually ends with a withdrawal from the structured commitment to the sport. Re-entering the sport at an older age is the initiation of what Hastings *et al* (1989) term a mature adult phase. Hastings *et al's* (1989) thoughts on sport careers are only applicable to organised sport where there is a structured institution supporting a youthful competitive environment and not to sports such as surfing which although shows signs of this, is predominantly far removed from this type of sport. Career is probably best explained through an example as it shows how Goffman's theory can be applied within a sporting situation and the nature of data that can be collected. Considering the wealth of sporting examples available, one will be taken from the above studies. This example in particular highlights that throughout a person's career they move through various phases over time (Hastings *et al*, 1989) which are labelled and carry certain characteristics. For example, Crawford (2004) draws on Marsh's (1978) research on British football hooligans to explain career development. Marsh (1978) notes that most football hooligans begin their career as young boys, drawn to the terraces because of the culture

and “tribal belonging” that exists. In terms of identity confirmation the young novice football hooligans at this stage would be going through the selection/recruitment stage of Donnelly and Young’s (1999) identity construction model. As the novice football hooligan progresses they can become what is termed by Marsh (1978) as a “Rowdy” a hooligan characterised by their loud singing and chanting. At this point it is assumed that identity construction has taken place and this is the point of identity confirmation and reconfirmation for the football hooligan. A Rowdy can often lead to becoming a “Chant Leader” who initiates songs, chants and hand claps. However, a highly successful Rowdy will progress to an “Aggro-leader” or a “Hard-case” who are renowned for reacting towards opposition fans causing scuffles and fracas. The most violent Hard-cases may progress to a “Nutter” who expresses extreme hooligan behaviour. However, as Aggro-leaders, Hard-cases and Nutters grow older and wiser they will become “Graduates” of the football hooliganism community and take a back seat role in any future violence (Marsh, 1978). This example only provides a brief glimpse of the possible stages of a football hooligans career however it does illustrate the potential of using Goffman’s (1961) concept of career to unravel the complex processes and stage of a life course and its interplay with identity construction.

Surfers can be said to have a surfing career which is spent trying to achieve or refine what Ford and Brown (2006) view as the “finished” surfing body, indicating that the exploration of the surfing career needs also to be an embodied one. The attempt earlier to describe the process of identity construction and identity confirmation gives some idea of the early processes of the career of the Local Surfer. However, there is little information on this early stage of the Local Surfers career and even less information on what happens to the Local Surfers career after this point. Therefore a fundamental part of this study will be to improve knowledge on the local surfers career particularly at these two vital sections of their career. The lack of knowledge on these points of the local surfers career maybe because I chose reasonably young interviewee’s for her study who seemed to be at the point of identity

construction and confirmation as Local Surfers. It could also be due to what Ford and Brown (2006: 75) describe as “fluctuating levels of commitment”. They argue that in any sports career the path involves fluctuating levels of commitment with temporary or permanent suspension of involvement, and periods of reengagement (Ford and Brown, 2006). They continue to make the point that the youth tend to have the most sustained levels of involvement unlike older surfers who may have both occupational and familial commitments that hold them back. Although these are all reasonable theories and there was a degree of support for these ideas in my previous study, they require underpinning with empirical evidence. It is the aim of this study to apply Goffman’s concept of career to the Local Surfer and continue to “map out” their career if and where there is evidence to support this thesis. This will be approached by posing the question; what happens to the local surfer in the years after identity construction? If evidence can be found to respond to this question then it may be possible to complete an ideal typical map of the local surfer’s career.

Identity and Place

A final important conceptual sensitivity surrounding is a subject that has only recently been theoretically acknowledged; the role of identity and place. Before discussion is made on identity and place, reason needs to be presented on the choice to refer to place rather than space. According to Tuan (1977: 3) “Space and place are basic components of the lived world”. Hornecker (2005: 1) focuses on the two terms and notes that;

Whereas space refers to the structural, geometrical qualities of a physical environment, place is the notion that includes the dimensions of lived experience, interaction and use of a space by its inhabitants

As place represents a distinctive and perhaps bounded type of space that is constructed and defined by the lived experiences of people it can therefore lead to an understanding of identity (Hubbard, Kitchin and Valentine, 2004) and it is because of this that place is chosen over space.

According to Babacan (2005) identity can be formed through geographic icons in a place that possess symbolic attributes which become significant to people evoking emotion, sentiments, and a longing to be in a particular location. Ultimately, places carry meaning to individuals and communities (Babacan, 2005) and as Laurence and Cartier (2003) state is more than a spatial container where people live. Natter and Jones (1997) summarise these points concisely by stating "every identity has its place". According to Laurence and Cartier (2003: 10) a place such as a village (a place of concern within this study) consists of "layers of cultural sediments that are bound, eroded and metamorphosed locally" to form a repository of meaning for residents. Laurence and Cartier (2003) then go on to make two points on place an identity which form two areas of interest to approach within this study. The first point is the importance of a transmigrant's native place. Although the community being focused upon in this study contains few transmigrants, what should be highlighted from Laurence and Cartier's discussion on this subject is the importance of native place. They describe a native place as "a deep wellspring of lasting memories that cannot be easily erased" being the quintessence of place and lasting home (Laurence and Cartier, 2003: 10). Of interest in this study is to find out what the feelings of the residents of the village and place being studied are, and whether they evoke feelings comparable to Laurence and Cartier's (2003) native place. If this is found then there can be discussion as to whether this feeling is strong enough to keep people and families, within a village such as the one being studied for a long period of time or even for generations. The second point is Laurence and Cartier's (2003) notion that place is a social incubator that contains the basic ingredients for social networking thus binding individual residents together and transforming them into co-villagers, neighbours and friends. This positive relationship between individuals in a village is built through having a shared experience, local culture, family ties, home, landed property, social clubs and schools. Within this study the notion of a place being a social incubator will be tested within the village being studied with particular

emphasis being placed on whether this leads to a positive outcome of binding residents together.

A second element of identity and place to consider, particularly in terms of the local surfer is how leisure activities such as surfing help form the identity of a place. Pain *et al* (2001: 54) believes that “Leisure, identity and place interrelate with one another at a variety of different spatial scales, producing geographically specific outcomes”. This is viewed in a description or characteristics of a group of people within a specific location or a specific place itself often being a reference to a form of leisure activity (Pain *et al*, 2001). It explains why areas such as Devon and Cornwall in the South West of England, and the population within these counties are so often linked with surfing. However, Pain *et al* (2001) questions whether these characteristics are real or stereotypes, a question that can be partially addressed within this study. Nevertheless, Pain *et al* (2001) states that real or not, they are important because they are commonly held imaginaries, and consequently become entwined with the identities of people and places. Another element which often adds to the identity of a place is community, a concept which is discussed now in detail.

Community

Bell and Newby (1974) point out that academics have been concerned with the concept of community for more than two hundred years but it was not until the early twentieth century that a variety of influences contributed to the emergence of community studies (Day, 2006). Since this point community studies have flourished and between the years of 1930-1970 Brook and Finn (1978, cited in Day, 2006) estimated that well over a hundred British and American academic pieces of literature were based on the concept of community. Described as both appealing and infuriating, community studies can not only provide analyses and description on the social organisation of human beings, but also be extremely diverse and therefore difficult to synthesize with other community studies (Bell and Newby, 1974). Despite this, in 1974, Bell and Newby saw community studies as being widely read and in particular the sociological focus of community as a developing area (Neal and

Walters, 2008) lead by the work of researchers such as Delanty (2003), Day (2006), Gupta *et al* (1997), and Hogan (1998). However, in 1971 it was noted that in Britain community studies had declined in popularity (Bell and Newby, 1971).

In this study the notion of community is central as many questions emerge regarding relationships between the local surfer, local surfing subcultures, place, and the concept of community. Firstly, how does the local surfer as an individual and as a group fit into and help shape the identity of the local community in which they are located? Secondly, would the existing sense of community observable in these locales be probable or possible exist without surfing and the local surfers within the area? Thirdly, what are the internal and external dynamics to these communities and the local surfer groups within them? Fourthly and finally, are there tensions that emerge from these dynamics, for example how does each community react to surfers outside the community and what tensions are created by surf tourism which simultaneously enables and constrains local surf culture in these communities?

What is needed and proposed to be put forward in this study is a working definition of community. However, as Abrams and McCulloch (1976: 24) state “definitions come after analysis not before it” and therefore judgement will be reserved on what constitutes an adequate definition until the conclusion of this study. Finding or constructing a working definition of community is not a simple task as academic definitions of community are both numerous and highly contested. As Raymond Williams stated “despite common use by both lay people and academics, the word “community” is characterised by its impreciseness” (cited in Metcalfe, 1996: 14), a view supported by Alleyne (2002: 608) who argues that community is “quite unsurprisingly a term which is impossible to define with any precision”. The confusing deliberations among sociologists when defining the term community is exemplified in George A. Hillery Jr’s analysis of no fewer than ninety-four definitions in his paper, *Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement* (1955, cited in Bell and Newby,

1971). Despite the title, the only agreement between all ninety-four definitions was that all the definitions deal with people. The point of this section is to present several useful definitions of community in order to find some appropriate frames of reference to apply to this study. In doing so, the attempts made by Hillery (1955, cited in Bell and Newby, 1971) to find an agreeable definition of community will be referred to.

Three major themes underpin community research. What is coincidentally and surprising is that the three major themes noted by my own study of literature (which so happened to be post 1955), are also the three themes noted by Hillery in his 1955 paper. The first theme concerns the concentration of the residents of the community within a delimited geographical area. Out of Hillery's ninety-four definitions, seventy (which equates to three quarters of the total definitions) agree that the presence of area is a necessary element of community (Bell and Newby, 1971). Since Hillery's paper in 1955, others such as MacIver and Page (1961), Inkeles (1964), Gusfield (1975), Metcalfe (1996) and also noted the presence of area as an important element of community. In Gusfield's (1975) definition of community he refers to area as location, physical territory and geographical continuity. When defining community during his research on the mining villages of East Northumberland, Metcalfe (1996) believed that a condition of "community" was having a stable, permanent settlement. MacIver and Page (1961) also thought that the bases of community was locality which in one sense can refer to geographical closeness. However, Sennett (1977) believes this concept of a community being a place on the map is much too narrow and people can have experiences of community which do not depend on living near one another, a conclusion he took from Ferdinand Tönnies who portrayed the non-geographical sense of community when contrasting *gemeinschaft* to *gesellschaft*. This is also closely related to the concept of globalisation and glocalisation. Globalisation processes involve an 'increasing intensification of global inter-connectedness' (Jarvie and Maguire, 1994:230) where the 'shrinking of space' (Maguire, 2000:356) can lead to the creation of community across a wide variety of locations. Similarly according to Giulianotti (2006), 'the concept

of glocalisation is used to analyse the ways in which social actors construct meanings, identities and institutional forms within the sociological context of globalization' and he in particular uses glocalisation in the context of North American based supporters of Scottish football teams to explain the transplantation of the original local culture to a new context. This supports the point that a community, which itself can be seen as 'local culture', can be spread over several global locations.

The second theme concerns the idea of social relationships and interaction. Although this is mentioned within many definitions, the context of these relationships can be very different. Of Hillery's ninety-four definitions, ninety-one mention the presence of a group of people interacting (Bell and Newby, 1996). This theme is noted by Inkeles (1964), Jarvie and Maguire (1994), Gusfield (1975), and Wellman (2001). Quite concisely Inkeles (1964) notes that in communities residents exhibit a substantial degree of integrated social interaction. This is mirrored in Gusfield's (1975) definition that refers to the quality or character of the human relationships and also Wellman (2001: 127) who specifies that there are "interpersonal ties that provide support, information, a sense of belonging, and social identity". Although Inkeles (1964) notes that a substantial degree of integrated social interaction occurs in a community, to Jarvie and Maguire (1994), Gusfield (1975), MacIver and Page (1961), and Wellman (2001) importance is placed on the type, quality, character and results of this relationship rather than the degree of interaction. These insights reveal the many aspects of social interaction and the depth with which they could be focused on in this study. However, rather than focus on the quality or type of social interaction that takes place, which is a possible future development, this study is particularly interested in the avenues through which social interaction occurs within the community which does give some insight into the character and type of social interaction.

The third and final theme is in many ways related to social interaction in that it concerns what Hillery defines as "common ties" (Bell and Newby, 1971). When

Gusfield (1975) discusses social interaction, he recognises the existence of bonds of similarity as what unites a collectivity of people similarly to MacIver and Page (1961), Wellman (2001) and Sennett (1977) who note some degree of social coherence, "Interpersonal ties" and shared action. From his research on mining villages Metcalfe (1996) concluded that communities were linked with a unifying trait or a common interest. Metcalfe (1996) portrays the unifying trait to be that each member of the community was linked to the mine, and the common interest to be the sports that were played outside of the mine by the residents. Although most definitions refer to "common ties" meaning an interest or way of life, Inkeles (1964) refers to "a sense of common membership of belonging together" irrespective of blood relations i.e. family. Inkeles (1964) is referring more to an invisible bond that exists between people rather than the interests or way of life that bring people together. Despite the agreement on the three elements of community presented above, there are a few other elements presented by scholars studying community that are worth noting as they could also apply to this study. For example, Gusfield (1975) suggests that a homogenous culture can be a mark of community. Factors such as language, moralities and common histories can produce the sense of being unique and act as a further "common tie" between people. Another example can be found in Metcalfe (1996: 16) who makes a direct reference to people within the community in stating "the development of a sense of community was related to the stability and composition of the population". Therefore Metcalfe (1996) believes that who makes up the population and the size of the population is of importance and needs to be accounted for.

Taking into account the elements and definitions of community that have been presented, a working definition for this study must be reached. The definition is designed to contain the three elements discussed previously but also takes into account other elements mentioned by Gusfield (1975) and Metcalfe (1996). It also contains much of the language used within other definitions. Therefore a community is a stable population within a delimited area who socially interact

through unifying traits or common interests, sharing similar morals and values. No doubt throughout this study this definition will be challenged and revised.

The first use of this definition must be in discussing what is already known about the community of the Local Surfer. Using data from past and present literature an attempt will be made, to illustrate an accurate representation of the community a Local Surfer is likely to live in. This is done in order to highlight what questions need to be answered within this study. Focus begins on the element of a stable population. Firstly it must be mentioned that although the geographical location of many local surfer communities may see an increase in visitors during popular tourist periods, this does not increase the population of the community, as they are not viewed as members of it. In my previous study I noticed that Local Surfers tended to have strong bonds with their family that this factor, along with the lure of their local beach break, keeps them within the community and keeps the population of local surfers within this area relatively stable. The first question therefore is how strong are the relationships between local surfers and their families and secondly how strong is the pull of their local beach break in influencing where they live? We also know from Booth (2004) that Local Surfers, a label which he coins, tend to congregate in small groups at their local break, this illustrates there is likely to be some cohesion and bond between the Local Surfers have with members of their community and their local break. A second question is do these small groups of local surfers have any influence on whether a given individual local surfer remains in the community? Thirdly, can we deduce that the population of the community remains mostly stable around close knit families and peers? Although it may be simplistic to suggest that these communities consist of families who remain geographically in the same community for generations it may be true in some cases. A fourth question is what happens when a local surfer moves away geographically and what effect does this have on the community and on the individual local surfer? Focus then moves to the community being within a delimited geographical area. In my previous research there was evidence to suggest that the Local Surfer views their local surf break as very important to

them as it is usually part of the area they call “home” and is highly protective over it. Cherry (2000: 18, cited in Booth, 2004: 99) supports this with his inclusion of a quote by a Local Surfer who warned other surfers “not to step out of line” or “I’ll be all over you”. Geographical boundaries are what separates one group of local surfers from another and induces a tribal element that is exhibited in the protection of their beach breaks. The tribal element will be discussed in more depth further into the discussion on community. However, establishing what or if local surfers determine geographical boundaries and the importance of them is a topic that will be approached in this study. Third and finally is how the Local Surfers community socially interacts through unifying traits or common interests. At this point the obvious answer to this would be to say surfing is a common interest. However, this study should endeavour to find out whether local surfers have any other common interests, for example; a drink down at the Local Pub, or other community events that may occur, i.e. Fetes, Fundraisers e.t.c. In their work on the Women’s Institute and the Young Farmers Clubs, Neal and Walters (2008) found that organizations such as this can have a strong hold on rural communities defining, shaping, reproducing and organizing local ceremonies, events, occasions, activities and traditions. This highlights the question whether this is evident in the local surfer community. There is also the possibility that these common interests i.e. sports such as surfing become visible symbols of the community and can be one of the few activities that bring the community together (Metcalf, 1996). In the past common interests such as sports also conferred status in the community (Hargreaves, 1986) and individual sportsmen and teams were viewed as representatives of their communities (Sciama, 1996). As the local surfer has only recently been established at this point there is no evidence within the literature of this phenomenon. However, I am already aware of events like the South East Cornwall raft race from Upover to Waverton and the Cold Water Classic where in each case competitors are grouped according to their local area. It is a possibility in this study to examine these events and see what affect arranging them in this manner has on the community. The unifying traits that may exist within a Local Surfer’s community are viewed at this point to be the

characteristics noted in Beaumont (2007) that make them Local Surfers. For example they live close to a beach that they would view as their local beach break, they are very protective over this break and they distinguish themselves from the commercial elements of surfing by choosing not to exhibit large brand names on their clothing. However, these all require further empirical evidence. One of the most preliminary elements of this study will be to establish whether the chosen research community exhibit these characteristics and therefore can be described as a local surfer community at all. The most difficult element of the definition of community to explore at this point is the sharing of similar morals and values by members of a Local Surfers community. Again, this can be linked to some of the characteristics of Local Surfers we have learnt from Beaumont (2007), for example their rejection of commercial interest in their sport. This again highlights an area of the Local Surfers community and characteristics as an ideal type that can be added to by this study. Evidence through interviews and ethnographic observation will be sought for each of these characteristic elements. Overall, the current literature goes some way in supporting the definition of community designed for this study and illustrates to a certain extent the Local Surfers community, while also illustrating areas which provide significant questions to be answered within this study.

Issues within surfing: Fratriarchy, Gender, and Localism

When commenting on work Metcalfe's (1979, cited in Hargreaves, 1986) work with mining communities, Hargreaves (1986: 53) noted that "proficiency in sports conferred status in the community on the individual". This is visible within the Local Surfers community. According to Booth (2004), Local surfers do recognise a social hierarchy revealed in the sense of order found within the water at a Local Surfers break. Abraham (1999: 53, cited in Booth, 2004: 99) notes how a Local Surfer of Narrabeen (Sydney) stated "I've spent fifteen years surfing here to earn the right to get a set...I had to fight hard to get [a] spot out there and it was a heavy apprenticeship". Despite the hostility found in this particular surfer, Local Surfers tend to be close and bear the characteristics of sporting fratriarchies or brotherhoods (Booth, 2004). In the chapter *The Dark Side of Agon: Fratriarchies, Reformative Masculinities, Sport Involvement and the*

Phenomenon of Gang Rape Loy (1995) discusses such sporting fratriarchies. From this chapter, Booth (2004) notes three points of interest. The first is that the sporting fratriarchies found in activities such as surfing are “where the action is” and according to Goffman (cited in Booth, 2004) involve character contests and special kinds of moral games, where participants moral attributes, such as “composure, courage, gameness and integrity, are displayed, tested and subjected to social evaluation” (Loy 1995: 266-7). The second point of interest according to Booth (2004) is Loy’s (1995) impression that sporting fratriarchies can be viewed as modern tribal groups that provide men with “comradeship, a sense of community, an experience of excitement and adventure, and a release of youthful aggression through innocuous, if often immature, physical exploits” (Loy, 1995: 267). Third and finally, sporting fratriarchies “all have, albeit in varying degrees, established codes of honour and violent performative masculine styles” (Loy 1995: 267). Booth (2004) believes that membership to a fratriarchy is gained through knowledge and accomplishment of such codes and styles, and surviving an “initiation” which can include body mutilation, physical testing and verbal hazing (Loy, 1995). Of interest in this study is whether the fratriarchial groups exist among local surfers and/or whether there is a social hierarchy with focus on how these two possibilities are exhibited.

The description of the Local Surfer being part of a sporting fratriarchies or brotherhood is also accurate in its exclusion of women. Prior to surfing’s emergence as a subculture women enjoyed a long tradition in surfing dating back to its Hawaiian and Polynesian roots. Ford and Brown (2006:83) have also recently noted that “On the surface many practitioners consider there is ‘no issue’ with gender in surfing”. However, Ford and Brown (2006:93) go on to note that these “romanticised narrative accounts” on the history of surfing do not accurately show the gender hierarchy and power relations which existed. Nevertheless, from the emergence of surfing as a subculture in California there is evidence to suggest that women began to find themselves marginalised with surfing taking a more fraternal structure (Booth, 2001b). The movie *Gidget* is a strong example of this occurring during the 1950s. *Gidget* was based on the

true story of Kathy Kohner who learnt to surf in Malibu in the shadow of the local male surfers Mickey Dora, Terry “Tubestreak” Tracey, Billy “Moondoggie” Bengston, and Bill Jenson (Booth, 1996). Gidget not only presented surfing to the world, but also highlighted issues of sexism within surfing at this point in time. However, these issues weren’t addressed and the marginalisation of women in surfing continued reaching a peak in the 1980s as the media’s representation of women in surfing shifted (Booth, 2001b). Booth (2001b) notes though that some commentators believe a change occurred during the 1990s that heralded a new culture in surfing, one less hostile for women. The conditions that caused this change are believed to be the revival of the longboard, dynamic new role models, the resolution of women’s surfing style, a shift in attitudes towards marketing female sexuality, a revitalised professional women’s tour, and new dedicated products for female surfers. In support of this it was estimated that in 2005 women accounted for twenty to forty percent of new surfers (Wade, 2007) and as Kai Stearns, editor of SG: Snow Surf Skate Girl Magazine stated “They are aggressive, powerful surfers. There are not just trying to surf as well as the guys- they’re getting their inspiration from other women now” (Stearns cited in Wade, 2007: 16). However, in spite of these observations within the commercial world of surfing, there still lies evidence of the patriarchical qualities within professional and local surfing, and the marginalisation of women within the sport. At the Rip Curl Boardmasters held in 2005 held at Fistral Beach in Newquay, the prize pool of \$125,000 was split as Wade (2007: 16) describes “in less than politically correct fashion” with \$100,000 to be shared among the leading men and \$25,000 for the women. Wade (2007) found this disproportionate prize fund to be ridiculous to the point where he couldn’t quite understand why they were competing for it. The unequal prize fund alongside the bikini babes contest and the stack of shacks selling gear mainly for the “girlies” as described by a male surfer, lead Wade (2007) to believe that Rip Curl Boardmasters 2005 was an example of surfing paying homage to its macho roots. In an interview by Alex Wade (2007: 60), Alan Bleakley, acclaimed poet and surfer, explained that surfing had a male orientation reflected in the language used, terms like “hacking”, “slashing” and

“gouging” are “emblematic of a male world view, a desire to dominate and control the environment” despite what he feels is much more to do with flow. Booth (2001b) also notes fratriarchial qualities in his response to commentators observations. He states that re-examining the conditions presented by the commentator “expose[s] several paradoxes and suggest[s] that the bonds of fraternity remain deeply embedded in the social structure of broader gender relationships.” (Booth, 2001: 11). Dominique Munro-Kent, a British longboard champion sees this happening in surfing as women sit on the shoulder, taking few waves lacking the aggression and assertiveness the men have (Wade, 2007). This view is supported by researchers outside of the world of surfing. In her analysis of sport Hargreaves (1986) noted that middle and upper class women participated in sports that portrayed a “ladylike” manner compatible with their ascribed segregated role. A sport like surfing would not be categorised as “ladylike” and therefore this limits participation for women of the middle and upper classes. Further evidence lies in Beal and Wilson’s (2004) investigation into skateboarding, a sport that carries similar traits to surfing under the heading of “extreme sports”. They found that skaters claimed that skateboarding was open to all, challenging the mainstream elitist sports. However, what Beal and Wilson (2004) describe as “informal male networks” restricted female participation. This left many skaters believing that female skaters were not skilled or interested enough to “earn” legitimate status as a skater. Despite some academics focusing on the so called “extreme sports” and gender relations, Ford and Brown (2006) note that at the time of writing their book, little critically focused academic work on surfing and gender relations was being carried out. Within this study it is aimed to establish the role of women within the surfing subculture both in and out of the water.

It has already been suggested that the sporting fratriarchies found in sports such as surfing can be viewed as modern tribal groups that provide members with a sense of community (Loy, 1995). This feature was noticed by Neal and Walters (2008) in their research on the Women’s Institute and Young Farmers Clubs in rural areas. They noted that the subject’s concept of community

contained notions of boundaries, insiders and outsiders, and of external conflicts and struggles. These external conflicts and struggles are noticed when a surfer enters into a local surfer's break. These external conflicts often turn into what is termed as "localism" seen by some as "the dark side of surfing" (Olivier, 2010:1224). According to Bennett (2004),

Localism is strongly ingrained into our surf psyche and culture. Being a local means belonging to a particular beach or area of coastline where you were either born or have lived for some accepted period of time. Localism is simply a preference for what is local, and may be expressed through ideas, customs, attitudes and behaviours of the surfers in your local area.

(Bennett, 2004: 346)

A more quantitative definition of localism is found in Sweeney (2005:4) who writes "localism= f(population, proportion of population that surfs, topography, local culture). Referring back to Bennett's definition, although according to this definition, localism is viewed underlying pride for one's local area, what is observed more often is what Bennett describes as heavy localism; "excessive territorial behaviour that typically involves threats or intimidation towards newcomers, though more rarely can involve physical assault or property damage" (Bennett, 2004: 348). Although referring to Localism in general, the following lists of acts illustrate the extent of heavy localism identified by Olivier (2010:1224-1225).

Localism is enacted in the following (escalating) ways: warning graffiti near the beach (for example, locals only); hostile glares in the parking lot; open oral warnings not to paddle out at the spot; having your car windows waxed (with surfboard wax) while you are in the water; broken car windows, deflated tyres, or in extreme cases having your car torched; stinkeye in the water; warnings to paddle back in to the beach; being herded out of the line-up by a group of locals; having your fins snapped off your surfboard or having the board damaged in some other way; being held underwater as a

warning or as a punishment for some transgression; being slapped; having a surfboard speared at the body or the head; being punched; and finally, being called out of the water to settle the differences on land.

Once represented by a few isolated incidents, Olivier (2010:1224) now believes that to some it has become “a necessary evil, as serving a regulatory function in situations of scarce resource”. In his research on Local Surfers Booth (2004) observed that although surfing is relatively informal, surfers congregated in small but fairly uniformed groups at a specific local surf break. In the territorial way suggested by Bennett (2004), these groups of surfers protect this break against outsiders and beginners known as “kooks”. Booth (2004) cites an example of a Local Surfer who publicly warned kooks in *Tracks* magazine “not to step out of line, in or out of the water” at his break. Otherwise, he threatened, “I’ll be all over you” (Cherry 2000: 18, cited in Booth, 2004: 99). Lanagan (2003) suggests that becoming an insider involves bodily participation over an extended period of time. He reflects on the work of Leethal (1999: 174, cited in Lanagan, 2003) which contains the following quote from a long time surfer of Victoria, “you get people coming here to surf and they think that just ‘cause they’re shit-hot they can surf here. I don’t think so. If your not one of our crew you don’t surf here unless we tell you to”. However, in contrast to this insiders/outsiders approach, after extensive discussion on the subject with surfers around Britain and Ireland, Alex Wade (2007) suggests that localism comes from a colonial imperative. This colonial imperative is what saw the British sweep the globe during the seventeenth century and the reason they claim ownership over waves now, waves that may even not be local to them. His theory is based on an interview with Irish surfer Mark Walton who claims that the worst localism in Ireland comes from the English and the Welsh “who come over here and think the waves are theirs” (Wade, 2007: 255). He describes an incident where he has been paddling out in his local break in Ireland, a break he’s been surfing all his life only to be given the eye by a surfer from Cornwall, a surfer who Walton states only surfs there once a year, who sees the crowds, and wants to claim the wave as his before he goes back home. Evidence to

support or deny each or both of these theories will be explored during this study.

Regardless of the above theories concerning the instigation and source of localism, there are many examples of it occurring within England. The Stormrider Guide in 1998 stated that incidents of aggressive or heavy localism were in extremely rare in Great Britain due to the lack of crowds and the naturally mellow instincts of the surfers within this area. However, British Champion of the time Gabe Davies had begun to sense the beginnings of localism.

Hardened by cold weather, polluted and freezing seas and inconsistent swells, the locals are some of the keenest, most competitive and yet friendliest surfers anywhere, who give meaning to the term hard-core. There's an independent spirit and a strong local pride built on close friendships and a close-knit surfing network that exists along the coast, which becomes enriched by further discoveries of new breaks. Surfers who wait all winter for classic swells will not stand for visitors who arrive with a disrespectful attitude.

(The Stormrider Guide, 1998: 77)

The area in Cornwall known as the Badlands around St Agnes is also well known by many surfers as a local only break. Chris Nelson, a native surfer of Yorkshire understood well the dangers of entering the Badlands through the magazine articles and urban myths that told of spontaneous acts of violence, regular drop ins, flat tyres and "locals only" being waxed onto your windscreen if you surfed as an outsider in the badlands (Wade, 2007). This local only attitude at the Badlands has been around for generations and is an attitude passed down within families who surf there, as one young local surfer said "watch out, my nan shreds low tide Aggie and she'll wax your windscreen if you drop in on her". Peter Lascelles, a local surfer of the Badlands, admits that if you paddle out and try to dominate, the local surfers will have words with

you. However he describes the tales of violence as a myth, but a myth that has worked. Wade (2007: 40) discovered further localism around England spawned by overcrowding when interviewing the editor of Carve magazine, who refused to give up the location of his favourite breaks as he would “turn up to surf a secret spot in winter to find it packed” and also when interviewing Jersey Surf School owner Jim Hughes who explained that the saturation of the line-ups was leading to people becoming more territorial and an increasing aggression in the water concluding that “Localism is on the increase, for sure” (Wade, 2007: 139). The overcrowding at certain English surfing locations has been made worse by the instillation of web cams which can be viewed on the internet. In reaction to the web cam placed at Porthleven, local surfer Dan Joel comments “now everyone checks message boards online, so it’s not just a handful of people who know it’ll be on, it’s a bus load.” A quote Wade (2007: 48) describes as the lament of many surfers local to the better surfing areas of Cornwall and Devon. This friction felt between outsiders in the form of kooks or competent surfers from other tribes was noted frequently in my previous research. The “Wannabe” is the modern commercial form of kook and that during peak tourist periods within the South West of England, the “Wannabe” increased in population causing overcrowding at several beach breaks. This caused aggravation among the Local Surfers and one interviewee described the “Wannabe” as having little respect for the local area (Beaumont, 2007). Peter Jones, a Soul Surfer interviewed in Wade (2007) deepens this assumption by suggesting that the growth in localism since the mid 1970s parallels the growth of the competition scene and therefore the commercial presence of surfing.

In suggesting a solution to localism, Local surfer Jonty Henshall feels that education is the answer; “People need to be educated about surfing’s unwritten rules- and its dangers- before they paddle out...There are too many surf tourists and wannabes who think they have the right to abuse local beaches” (Wade, 2007: 69). Henshall tributes this idea to Nat Young in Australia who put up signs on beaches explaining the basic rules of surfing etiquette. Although surfing etiquette is very much a learned set of rules passed on from surfer to

surfer during identity construction Mackert (2005) set out these unwritten rules in order to educate surfers that were unaware of their existence, quite possibly the wannabe. "The golden rules of surfing" as he titles them, are listed as follows:

1. The surfer who waits longest, gets to take the next wave.
2. The surfer furthest in, closer to the breaking edge, has right of way. Anything else would be dropping in!...
3. A surfer already surfing the "green" wave further out, has right of way. These rules often lead to conflict between short boarders because the longies find it easier to catch a wave than those on shortboards. So long-boarder, make up your mind whether you want to be an asshole who goes by the book and takes every wave, or a good surf brother who lets the shortboarders get a look in too.
4. If a surfer is on a wave, he has priority over the surfer paddling out to sea. For the paddler it means "into the whitewater, make a deep duck-dive and don't take the easy route. Or you could ruin the other surfers" ride.
5. If you're a beginner try to find a spot a bit further away from the others. That gives you the chance of practicing without causing accidents.
6. Know your limits and respect the sea!...
7. Don't take off before or in front of someone who's "caught inside" and is already in enough trouble as it is.
8. When you paddle out and a big wave is rolling in on you, only abandon your board in absolute emergencies and when no one is around, then dive under.
9. Respect the "locals" and don't behave like an idiot! That means, work your way in from margins, don't just plunge in right in front of their noses.

10. Show respect and goodwill towards nature and your fellow surfers.

(Mackert, 2005: 105)

Mark Durbano (interviewed in Wade, 2007) even goes as far to say that most surfers don't give a damn about localism, admitting however that there will always be some localism. Wade (2007) agrees that localism in the form of violence and vandalism is not the answer and should be abhorred, but however he does view a surfer's rite of passage as earning a place in the line up by behaving respectfully towards those who live in a given area. Further aggravation was found between Local surfers who would use other Locals surfer's breaks for surfing. As my previous research has already highlighted the existence of localism within the South West of England, the role for this study is to expand on the forms of localism that occur and the effect it has on the community.

Summary

To summarise, this literature review has presented the main topic of this thesis; the surfing subculture, and has highlighted its origins and development to the present day around the world and also focused on the academically underdeveloped location of the study; England. My previous work in this area, and in particular the ideal types generated, was viewed as a catalyst for this study. These ideal types; the Wannabe, the Local Surfer, the Soul Surfer and the Professional Surfer were presented after introducing the concept of ideal types as put forward by Weber. In order to address the issues raised around the main topic a symbolic interactionist perspective has been taken and the background and relevance of this theory was stated including its relevance and insight into topics such as identity, career, place and community. These topics are of particular interest to providing insight into the surfing subculture in the South West. However, there was also an introduction of the current key issues within the surfing subculture which I feel cannot be ignored considering the lack of attention paid by academics to these issues.

Chapter Three

Methodological Strategy

This chapter focuses on the methodological strategy of this study that ultimately informs the choice of data collection, analysis and representation of techniques drawn upon by the researcher. There will first be a discussion on the paradigm of the study that focuses on the ontological and epistemological positions that I adopt as a researcher. Once this has taken place focus will then be on how the methodology for this study informs the research process and the research method. Each method used within the study is then discussed in terms of its definition, its trustworthiness, its strengths and weaknesses and the methods specific application within the study. Finally there will be discussion on how I selected and accessed the setting for this study and issues surrounding the time period I spent in the chosen setting.

Paradigm

A central element of research design is its paradigm as this shapes the research process as a totality (Sparkes, 1992). The concept of “paradigm” was born out of the work of Thomas Kuhn (1962) who brought paradigms into the “popular lexicon of research design” (Silk *et al*, 2005: 5). Kuhn (1962) suggests that a paradigm is the complete gathering of beliefs, values and techniques shared by the members of a given scientific community. It can also be viewed as the overreaching and interconnected assumptions about the nature of reality (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). Kuhn (1962) explains that paradigms are human constructions, and therefore researchers have a responsibility to explain their methodological paradigm as it is an insight into their ideology.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) propose that a paradigm encompasses four areas: axiology, ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Axiology focuses on questions of ethics within the social world (Silk *et al*, 2005). Ontology is

concerned with “the philosophy of the existence and nature of phenomena” (Gratton and Jones, 2004: 15) and involves the researcher posing the question “what do I see as the very nature and essence of things in the social world?” (Mason, 1996). Epistemology is “the branch of philosophy that deals with how knowledge of such phenomena is acquired” (Gratton and Jones, 2004: 15) or more precisely the origins of knowledge (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) and involves the researcher posing the question “What might represent knowledge or evidence of the entities or social “reality” which I wish to investigate?” (Mason, 1996: 13). Finally methodology refers to the best means for gaining knowledge about the world (Silk *et al*, 2005). However, despite the importance of axiology and methodology, Sparkes (1992) and Gratton and Jones (2004) state that the choice of a particular paradigm is made specifically through the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher. Therefore the ontological and epistemological positions I adopt in this study must be further clarified in order to work within the most appropriate paradigm for the research problems to be addressed.

Within this study the ontological position I adopted is that reality is shifting and unstable and is made up of identity, essence and being. My epistemological position is that meaning exists in our interpretations of the world and that knowledge is an interpretative construction rather than a discovery of universal laws of human understanding. In discussing epistemological positions, Bryman (1989) notes that a researcher rejects positivistic scientific methods and does so because of the belief that people are different from objects, and that research which attributes meaning to interpreting people’s social environments is working within the Interpretive paradigm. Therefore my ontological and epistemological position supports the choice to work within the Interpretivist paradigm. By selecting the Interpretive paradigm to work within a study on sport, Silk *et al* (2005: 11) notes that there is recognition of “the complexity of the social world, the role of the researcher within that world and the meanings that people attribute to everyday life”. However, according to Gummesson (2003: 482) “Let’s stop fooling ourselves:

All research is interpretive!". Gummesson (2003) believes that any study will contain interpretation throughout the research process. Although an Interpretive paradigm is often supported by qualitative methods Gummesson (2003:484) considers that it can also support quantitative methods; "Both numbers and words require interpretation". However while Gummesson's (2003) comments are useful, they have the effect of reducing the focus of the Interpretive paradigm away from it being a belief that shapes the entire research process. Therefore, the stance I take in this study remains with the traditional classification of the Interpretive paradigm.

The use of an Interpretive paradigm provides a distinctly constructive and appropriate method from which to conduct research into the social world of subcultures and produce richly descriptive data. The Interpretive paradigm has deep historical roots, similarly to positivism, and owes much to the work of Clifford Geertz (Sands, 2002) and before him, Wilhelm Dilthey (1922) in particular who was both influential thinkers during the nineteenth century when Interpretivism emerged as a reaction to positivism (Sparkes, 1992). Ultimately, as Sparkes (1992:25) argues, thinkers such as Dilthey believed that "while the natural science approach with its positivistic assumptions may be appropriate for the study of the physical world they are not appropriate for the study of the social world which they see as having very different characteristics". Research into sport has long been a positivist stronghold yet Interpretivists argue that sport is a social phenomenon and that people who are involved in sport through many avenues "are acted upon by a number of external social forces, but also have free will to respond to such forces in an active way, and are not inanimate objects, whose behaviour can be understood in causal relationships" (Gratton and Jones, 2004). Of principal concern to the Interpretivist is "understanding the social world people have produced and which they reproduce through their continuing activities." (Blaikie, 2000 cited in Mason, 2002: 56). This is because the Interpretivist approach is founded on the premise that "the social world is complex, that researchers and subjects are fundamentally and subjectively attached to the world, and that people define

their own realities" (Silk *et al*, 2005: 7). Sands (2002) also believes that this is because the Interpretivist paradigm views every culture as being unique and beyond adaptations to the environment that may produce similarity between cultures. According to Gratton and Jones (2004) The strength of the Interpretivist paradigm lies in its ability to allow the researcher to gain an insider's perspective which leads to an understanding of the subjects from within and its capability to explore and uncover explanations providing rich detailed data as opposed to numerical measurements. Within the Interpretivist paradigm, feelings and emotions are collected from the viewpoint of the participant and then "measured" using words, statements and other non-numerical methods (Gratton and Jones, 2004). Elsewhere, Mason (2002) believes that the Interpretive approach views the perceptions of people as the primary data source and therefore the Interpretivist researcher is the main tool for analysing and interpreting these perceptions. However, Hyllegard *et al* (1996) note that interpretive approaches raise issues of reliability and problematising and displacing conventional scientific notions of 'validity' an issue discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Qualitative Research

A distinction has been made between the Positivistic and Interpretivist paradigm, in particular the Interpretivist paradigm has been discussed in terms of its appropriateness for this study. Now a second distinction that is often made in research must occur. This distinction refers to the characteristics of the data being collected and therefore the choice of taking a qualitative or quantitative approach. The qualitative approach has for a long time been associated with the Interpretivist paradigm because it aims to capture qualities that are not readily quantifiable such as feelings, thoughts and experiences (Gratton and Jones, 2004). Qualitative research has grown out of a wide range of intellectual and disciplinary traditions, however it is perhaps most commonly associated with the Interpretivist sociological tradition and the schools of thought within it (Mason, 1996). Therefore a choice to undertake a qualitative approach has been made. It must be noted that according to Smith

(1987, cited in Sparkes, 1992) the theories and methods within qualitative research are diverse and even disordered, a point also noted by Locke (1989, cited in Sparkes, 1992). However, despite this degree of confusion, qualitative research is employed within many research areas. It first began being employed in fields such as anthropology, psychology, and sociology for many years before beginning to be utilised within the areas of physical education and sport science during the 1980s (Thomas and Nelson, 1996). For a long time the qualitative approach was viewed as being inferior to the quantitative approach within sport studies. However, many of the quantitative based studies did not provide sufficiently detailed or nuanced information and there is a growing consensus over the need to understand the underlying experiences, feelings and emotions related to behaviour and Gratton and Jones (2004) believe that as a consequence of this, the qualitative approach is taking an ever increasing important role within sport studies. Maguire (1991) states that qualitative research provides a “bold, imaginative and multidisciplinary view of sports studies” that has the ability to tell us about human beings generally rather than them being reduced to variables and numbers (cited in Silk *et al*, 2005: 11). In support of the qualitative approach in the future, Maykut and Morehouse (1994) urge academic researchers not just to utilise qualitative methods, but also to make a strong case for the qualitative approach. These points should be taken into consideration and endeavoured within this study.

Many academics have attempted to define qualitative research, particularly against its opposite, quantitative research. Most commonly, qualitative research is referred to as “play[ing] with words instead of numbers” (Silk *et al*, 2005: 7). Despite common agreement at this basic level there is little consensus on its definition among academics across disciplines and this is possibly because qualitative research does not represent a unified set of techniques or philosophies and has grown out of a wide range of intellectual and disciplinary traditions (Mason, 1996). Mason (1996: 4) believes that it is a great strength of qualitative research that it cannot be neatly pigeonholed and reduced to a

“simple and prescriptive set of principles”. Despite this, Mason (1996: 4) attempts to define qualitative research with the following three points;

- it is grounded in an Interpretivist position
- it is based on methods of data generation which are “flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced”
- and it is based on “methods of analysis and explanation building which involves understandings of complexity, detail and context”

Elsewhere, in defining qualitative research, Creswell (1998) looked at several existing definitions of qualitative research by leading academics and discovered eight characteristics of qualitative research which he believes show the contours of qualitative research. These eight characteristics are that;

- qualitative research is field focused using a natural setting as a source of data
- the researcher is the key instrument of data collection
- data is collected as words and pictures
- the outcome is a process rather than a product
- the analysis of data is inductive with attention to particular
- there is a focus on the participants’ perspectives and their meaning
- there is use of expressive language
- and there is persuasion by reason

Although this is a rather lengthy list of attributes, I agree with Creswell’s characteristics which I believe accurately define qualitative research and are present within this study. Most notably in this study I am the key instrument in this study being immersed within the natural setting of a village, collecting data in the form of words predominantly through interviews where the concern is with the participant’s perspective and their meaning on subjects such as community and identity. As the key instrument it is also therefore valuable at this stage to outline who the researcher is and give details on myself and my relationship with the community and participants.

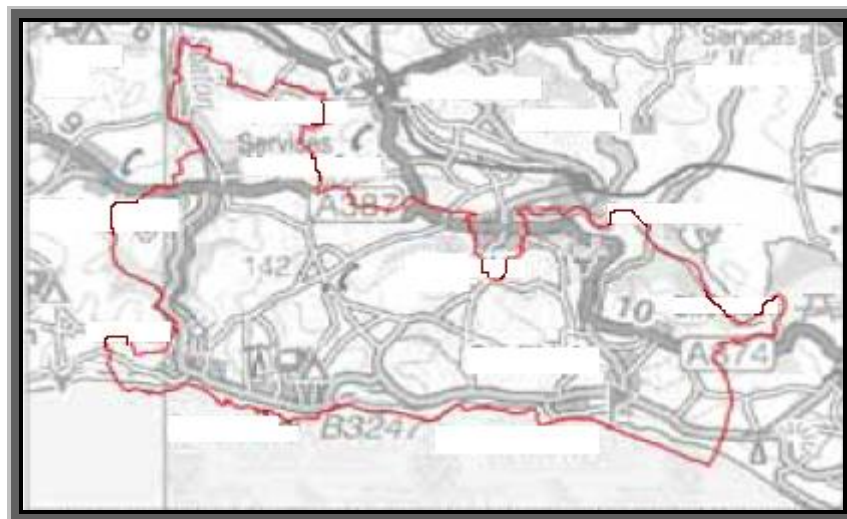
My background in surfing is through familiar and academic interests. Firstly, I grew up in a close family who had no interest in surfing, yet when a close family member began seeing a Local Surfer this suddenly changed. As this family members life began to alter due to the interests of her new partner I, a postgraduate student studying Sociology of Sport, began to question why this pursuit was having such an effect on my family member and consequently, myself. This began my academic interest in the area and in 2007 I undertook a MSc dissertation entitled A Sociological Enquiry into Style and Ideology in the Surfing Subculture. Once involved in this academic area of study, like a surfer I became engrossed in surfing and its subculture and wanted to continue my interest with further study, hence the undertaking of this PhD. As my family member had since married their Local Surfer partner and moved to a small Local Surfer village, I had unique access into their community with a valid reason for being there. I therefore choose this as the setting for my study (details of this choice are further outlined below). Prior to this study I had already made several social visits to the setting and had become familiar with a few faces in the village who during the study would become participants. Despite my frequent visits I had not built up a strong relationship with many of the participants and this held back any influence there may have been for a previously significant relationship with a participant to affect the interpretation and conclusions in this study. Once the study is completed my intention is to continue socialising in the setting as I would have done before the study, returning as myself and not the researcher.

Selecting the Setting and Access

According to Gratton and Jones (2004) the setting for an ethnographic study can be chosen before the research question because it is familiar and or accessible by the researcher. These two points are true for this study as the researcher was familiar with the area of South East Cornwall defined as the setting for this study and had access into the area through familial linkages before the research question was formed. However despite familiarity or access, the setting must be compatible with the research question (Gratton and Jones, 2004). As the

research question concerned the local surfer then the setting of the study must contain a high level of local surfers. Perhaps shaping the research question, the setting seen as being familiar and with easy access was predominantly populated in terms of surfing type by the local surfer. Although much of the research was located in Hessiock, a pseudonym for a village in South East Cornwall, the boundaries both literally and theoretically were not clearly defined and therefore data and information came from other locations outside of Hessiock and therefore in a broad sense the setting can be seen as being part of Caradon, the district that Hessiock lies in. If geographical boundaries were to be applied to this area then according to Cornwall Council this area's ONS name is Caradon 007A and the boundaries of this area can be seen below in the map featured in Figure Four.

Figure Three.



Participants

It is at this point the researcher must decide who is going to be the subjects of the study as this affects which key individual or gatekeeper they approach. They must do this by returning to their research question and contemplating what phenomena they are wishing to investigate (Mason, 1996). In the case of this study the phenomena under investigation is the Local Surfer. This lead me to consider as to where the data was collected in time, space and place (Mason, 1996) effectively making a decision on the location of the study. As Mason (1996) states, the researcher must ask whether their choice will generate data

relevant to the research question. It was fortunate that as a researcher I had access to a village in South East Cornwall which contained a high Local Surfer population, several of whom I had interviewed in my previous MSc dissertation (Beaumont, 2007). Grills (1998, cited in Gratton and Jones, 2004: 182) suggests that access to informants, and therefore data, will “be strongly influenced by how those in the group interpret your motives and interests as a researcher”. Therefore it was determined that the researcher use familial linkages in the setting to access informants. The two members of family that live in the setting are what Giulianotti (1995, cited in Gratton and Jones, 2004) describes as gatekeepers, people who are trusted by people within the setting and can introduce the researcher to them. Once access had been gained into the research area through the gatekeepers and an appropriate time, space and place decided upon, it was then time to begin data collection.

Data collection began initially with participant observation and field notes. Initial participant observation began with a key community event, the Cold Water Classic and field notes were on the researchers time in the setting. It was considered how much informants should know about the study in order to increase their participation and improve credibility. Therefore it was decided that all participants in the study would be told that the researcher was involved at looking at the surfing subculture in South East Cornwall within a small community. As participant observations and field notes were carried out overtly in many cases it was appropriate to gain informed consent from people, specifically those involved in participant observation. Mulhall (2003) described informed consent as a constant problem during observation due to the understanding participants have of the study. In this study, many participants involved in participant observation signed the consent form before the explanation of the study had even finished. In one instance, this lead to a case where the researcher was not recognised during a meeting by a participant who had already signed consent but could not remember who the researcher was or their intentions. This raised ethical concerns as to whether it was appropriate to use the data already given by this participant. To overcome this concern, if I

ever felt the participant was unaware of who I was and my intentions then I would provide a brief explanation at the beginning of the conversation which would often be enough to remind them of their inclusion in the study. Once consent had been given observations could take place and data could be recorded. From this initial information the researcher had to make decisions about who would be appropriate to consider for an interview. This initiated a purposive sampling technique where participants are chosen with a purpose in mind, usually to suit the predetermined groups the researcher has in mind (Trochim, 2006b). Also known as judgement sampling, Marshall (1996:523) believes this to be “a more intellectual strategy than the simple demographic stratification of epidemiological studies”. It was considered that there should be two interview groups, one concerning identity and another concerning community. In particular, expert sampling (considered a subcategory of purposive sampling) was used which involves “the assembling of a sample of persons with known or demonstrable experience and expertise in some area” in particular in the groups identified by the researcher (Trochim, 2006b:web site). For example, within identity there should be interviews of different ages and people who have been a Local Surfer for a varying amount of time in order to explore the concepts of identity construction and confirmation and career, what Marshall (1996:523) also describes as “critical case sampling”. In terms of community, interviews were deemed necessary with key members such as leaders of local clubs; the working men’s club and the South East Cornwall Surf Club, and long standing members of the village, new members to the village, and previous members of the village who had moved away, what Marshall (1996:523) describes as “key informant sampling”. This reflects the belief that the subjects chosen for interview should reflect the heterogeneity of the group and that a good overview of all the different elements within the group is considered (Angrosino, 2007). The decisions on who best fit these types of interview were made through the gatekeepers, initial participant observation, and field notes whilst in the setting. The amount of interviews conducted was controlled mostly by the reasons above, however according to Angrosino (2007), the size of the sample is also determined by factors such as the

characteristics of the group being studied, the objectives of the study, and the resources of the researcher such as limitations of time, mobility, equipment and so on.

The participants involved in this study through either interview, participant observation and field notes are listed below in the table Figure Three. This table provides a basic level of biographical information on each participant that will be further embellished in the analysis that follows.

Figure Four

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age (at time of data collection)</u>	<u>Biography</u>	<u>Surfer or non-surfer</u>	<u>Contact Made</u>
Rachel Matthews	29	Teacher. Moved into the village two years ago when she married Jacob.	Occasional Surfer	Interview Participant Observation
Jacob Matthews	32	RNLI Lifeguard. Long term resident of the village.	Frequent Surfer	Interview Participant Observation
Michael Howard	25	Retail representative for surf clothing and board company. Long term resident in a small village just outside Hessiock.	Frequent Surfer	Interview
Simon Howard	53	Consultant within Surf Retail Industry. Long term resident in a small village outside Hessiock.	Occasional Surfer	Mentioned in Interview
Phil Cole	51	Self employed photographer. Long term resident in a small village just outside Hessiock.	Frequent Surfer	Interview
Wes Deacon	29	Self employed carpenter. Long term resident of the village but moved to Trevet when married Ruth.	Regular Surfer	Interview Field Notes
Ruth Deacon	Unknown Estimated 30+	Teacher. Long term resident of Plymouth but moved to Trevet when married Wes Deacon.	Occasional Surfer	Interview
Mitchell Colebrook	Unknown Estimated 30+	Self employed restraunter. Long term resident in a small village just outside	Regular Surfer	Field Notes

		Hessiock.		
Tanya Heel	Unknown Estimated 40+	Self employed businesswoman. Long term resident of village.	Non Surfer	Interview Participant Observation Field Notes
Martin Heel	Unknown Estimated 40+	Contractor for an oil company. Long term resident of village.	Occasional Surfer	Interview Participant Observation Field Notes
Karl Slade	Unknown Estimated 40+	Self employed roofer. Long term resident of the village since moving down from London.	Occasional Surfer	Participant Observation Field Notes
Joe Slade	18	Labourer	Frequent Surfer	Mentioned in Interview
Elliot Slade	Unknown Estimated 15-/+	Student	Frequent Surfer	Mentioned in Interview
Billy Reed	15	Student. Long term resident of village.	Frequent Surfer	Interview
Robert Reed		Builder. Long term resident of village.	Occasional Surfer	Participant Observation Field Notes
Andy Bent	29	Self employed surf filmmaker. New resident of the village since moving from Plymouth.	Frequent Surfer	Interview Participant Observation
Tara Smith	Unknown Estimated 30+	Council worker. New resident of the village since moving from Plymouth.	Non Surfer	Interview
Sam Wiseman	26	Carpenter. Long term resident of the village but moved to Trevet.	Regular Surfer	Mentioned in Interview
Steve Toot	27	Self employed builder. Long term resident of Hessiock and neighbouring Waverton.	Non Surfer	Interview
Reg Davies	Unknown Estimated 70+	Retired lecturer. Long term resident of village.	Non Surfer	Interview
David Thomas	32	Lawyer. Long term resident of village but currently living and employed in London.	Non Surfer	Interview Participant Observation
Anne Thomas	29	Long term resident of village but currently living and employed in London.	Non Surfer	Interview Participant Observation

Mark Godfrey	36	Photographer. Long term resident of village but currently living and employed in London.	Occasional Surfer	Interview Participant Observation
Ryan Wheel	50	Developer. Owns a house in Hessiok but does not live there.	Regular Surfer	Mentioned in Interview
Shane Rafter	23	Involved in family business.	Frequent Surfer	Mentioned in Interview
Daniel Rafter	50	Runs family business	Unknown	Mentioned in Interview
Craig Dover	Unknown Estimated 40+	Distributor of Xcel wetsuits.	Frequent Surfer	Mentioned in Interview
Jack Blythe	Unknown Estimated 15-/+	Resident of Ringport.	Frequent Surfer	Mentioned in Interview
Gordon Blythe	Unknown Estimated 50+	Resident of Ringport.	Frequent Surfer	Mentioned in Interview

Space and Time Period

This study aims to give an insight into the surfing subculture within the South-West of England, in the contemporary period. This is not referring to the time frame of the data collection phase, but to the time period reflected in the data. For example, the eldest subject interviewed during this study, the participant Reg, set the beginning of the time period as he gave the most historical data. It also happens that he is the oldest of all the participants. However, this was an interview primarily based on community. It was then Phil, the eldest subject to be interviewed concerning the surfing subculture and identity who provided the most historical data during his interview regarding these two subject areas. Therefore, the data gained from subjects was specific to a time period and to the location(s) that subjects referred to and ultimately provided knowledge or supported knowledge on the evolution of the surfing subculture during this time and location. This study has expanded on the time frame focused on with previous research which covered a period of around 30 years (See Beaumont, 2007).

Ethnography

Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) and Creswell (1998) believe that the beginnings of ethnography as we know it today were seen in the work of twentieth century anthropologists such as Malinowski (1922, cited in Atkinson and Hamersley, 1994) Boas, Radcliffe-Brown, and Mead. However, this is disputed by academics such as Wax (1971, cited in Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994) and Sanday (1979) who believe that ethnography stems as far back as the ancient Greeks with the work of Herodotus. Whenever its origins ethnography blossomed during the turn of the twentieth century when comparative studies of human culture (ethnology) gave way to studies of the details of individual societies (ethnography) (Risjord, 2000) which involved a particular set of methodological and interpretive procedures (Sanday, 1979). Recent scientific approaches to ethnography have formed schools or subtypes with different theoretical orientations and aims such as structural functionalism, symbolic interactionism, cultural and cognitive anthropology, feminism, Marxism, ethnomethodology, critical theory, cultural studies and postmodernism (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1994). Creswell believes that this has lead to “a distinct lack of orthodoxy in ethnography as a general approach to the description and interpretation of a cultural or social group” leading him to declare that academics need to be clear as to what school they subscribe to when discussing ethnography. Sands (2002) also states that although ethnography was once the sole possession of anthropology, it is now a “popular choice” within many emerging academic social science fields as well as in other traditional disciplines such as sociology, psychology, political science, organisational studies and other related fields (Bergman, 2003). Thiele (2003) believes that there is a general reluctance of ethnography in sport based studies and as in the case of this study, there should be a predestination for researchers in the social field of sport to use ethnography. However due to what Thiele (2003) describes as limited personnel resources in the sociology of sport this continues the lack of ethnographic studies within this field. As Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) state, for some people ethnography is a paradigm to which

some researchers make a total commitment. Examples include Wacquant (2004) study on boxing and Beal's (2008) work on skateboarding. In contrast other academics use it as a method as and when it is appropriate. As a social researcher in the field of sport who has utilised ethnographic methods in the past, and appreciates the wealth of detailed knowledge it can produce, it is possible to say that this study has confirmed my commitment to ethnography.

Silk (2005) recognises that like so many academic terms, the meaning of ethnography is a contested terrain and defining it is a difficult task subject to controversy according to Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) with different authors providing different definitions. For example, even its literal meaning is contested as according to Angrosino (2007) it means a description of people yet Wolcott (1990: 88, cited in Sparkes, 1992: 28) believes it literally means "a picture of the way of life of some identifiable group of people". Less literal examples include Johnson and Christensen (2004), who believe ethnography is a method that focuses on describing the culture of a group of people. Hammersley and Atkinson (1994) first defined ethnography by a number of features which they believe it possesses. However, in a later work Hammersley and Atkinson (1995:4) refined their definition of ethnography and it has become one of the more frequently cited definitions.

we shall interpret the term "ethnography" in a liberal way, not worrying much about what does or does not count as examples of it. We see the term as referring primarily to a particular method or sets of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions—in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research.

A similar broad definition is that of Gratton and Jones (2004) who view ethnography as being characterised by a focus on a particular group or subculture and using several data collection methods to collect and use

extremely rich data with depth of information. Bergman (2003) describes these definitions of ethnography as liberating but also broad possibly muddling the distinction with other methods, but also threatening the integrity of the study because the research question, data collection and analytical method, and raw data are highly interdependent therefore if data collection and data analysis are theoretically and empirically unclear, it is difficult to decide whether the research question can be answered by the data (Bergman, 2002, cited in Bergman 2003). A broad definition of ethnography, as defined by Atkinson and Hammersley (1995) however demonstrates according to Bergman (2003: 3) the “multifaceted possibilities of application”. Ethnography from the researcher’s point of view was born more out of the necessity to understand people and their perceptions however the researcher confirms the need for a definition in terms of the process of ethnography and therefore is in line with the broad definition put forward by Atkinson and Hammersley (1995).

Risk and the ethical implications of ethnography are an issue that must be addressed. In order to maintain an awareness of ethical practice Plummer’s (2001) checklist of ethical considerations was utilised. This ‘checklist’ covers seven considerations including intellectual property, informed consent, right to withdraw, unintended deception, accuracy of portrayal, confidentiality and financial gain. Despite a high concern for ethics, there were still certain risks to consider when undertaking his study. According to Sands (2002), ethnography poses more risk than any other data collection methodology within the social sciences, with personal risk being viewed as both emotional and physical. As this creates an ethical concern, a researcher must weigh up the possible risks and decide what level of risk to bear, however the researcher must also be aware that exposure to some risks can make the experience of becoming an ethnographer more real and therefore the experience gained through the researcher can be conveyed (Sands, 2000). It is viewed at this point of the study that the researcher’s risk of physical harm will be minimal as any observational participation is carried out predominantly in indoor public spaces and not in the water with the surfers. However, events such as the Cold Water Classic, an

event that forms a significant part of this study, can be held on a number of selected beaches (depending on the surfing conditions that day) and can involve a steep climb down onto the beach which poses a physical risk to the researcher and subjects alike. There is also the risk that participants may be open to physical risk when participating in events at the Cold Water Classic. The greatest risk within this study would be emotionally both to the researcher but more importantly to the participant. However, the researcher can help to limit the emotional risks which the participant may feel. These risks were considered and addressed during the ethics application process, the most common of which are presented below. According to Riemer (2008) a common outcome of ethnography is the development of close relationships between the researcher and subjects within the field. For some researchers, living and working in the field alongside subjects can create strong bonds and relationships. Within this study the only strong relationships the researcher held within the field were with the gatekeepers who were members of the family therefore this relationship existed outside of the study. However it had implications which are discussed during the field notes section. Particular to interviews, Riemer (2008) also noted that participants could place themselves at risk by disclosing information about their personal lives. Similarly it was noted that the participant may become uncomfortable during interviews involving enquiries into their family or personal history in the village. To overcome this ethical concern, reference was made to the Ethical Issues of the *Seven Research Stages* provided by Kvale (1996:111). From this it was noted that during the "Interview Situation" the researcher would have to take into account stress and changes in self image of the interviewee taking care to be receptive to the participant's mood. The researcher also had to be aware that there were many complicated and not always passive relationships among some members of the community and that divulging information among participants during the "Reporting" stage of the seven research stages would have to be done subtly, if at all. In terms of emotional risk for the researcher, the researcher may begin to become stressed if faced with continually challenging research conditions. An example of which is the significant drive to the research area for cancelled

meetings or a late meeting. There are little steps that can be taken to reduce these risks but usually it is out of the researcher's hands. Overall the risk posed in this study and the ethical implications it lead to were predominantly addressed prior to data collection during the ethics application process minimising ethical concerns during data collection.

There are numerous methods associated with ethnography, viewed here when Sands (2002) states the first step for an ethnographer producing an ethnographic study is to record field observations, experiences, and interviews. Sparkes (1992) also makes note that alongside participant observation, considered a central method in ethnography, methods such as the various forms of interviewing (unstructured, structured, life history, key informant), projective techniques, archive analysis, written document analysis, and the analysis of non-written sources (maps, photographs and film, artefacts, video and audio tapes) can all be drawn upon in an ethnographic study. However as Hitzler (2000, cited in Thiele, 2003: 5) points out "ethnographers use as a matter of principle the whole arsenal of methods of empirical social research" but according to Wolcott (1990: 191) "There is no way one could ever hope to produce an ethnography simply by employing many, or even all, of the research techniques that ethnographers use" as it "is not the techniques employed that make a study ethnographic". Therefore although there are numerous methods which can be utilised within ethnography, as Theile (2003: 5) states there are "no specific ethnographic methods" and it is the interpretation of what is seen that is critical (Wolcott, 1990). However despite the lack of importance placed on the methods used within an ethnographic study the chosen ethnographic methods of data collection for this study are outlined below and discussed in detail.

Ethnographies are characterised by the considerable time the researcher spends in the setting (Gratton and Jones, 2004). There are however time constraints to this study and therefore unlimited time and resources were unavailable and in order to begin analysis and writing of this study the researcher has to delimit

the time spent on ethnography and the collection of data. Data collection first began with participant observation on the 11th November 2008 and ended with a final interview on 28th November 2009, however the researcher continued to return to the setting and therefore it may be collected up until the final drafts of this thesis.

Participant Observation

Participant observation has been a fundamental method of data collection in anthropological studies for over a century (Kawulich, 2005) where it was developed and refined by cultural anthropologists such as Margaret Mead, Malinowski and Ruth Benedict (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994 and Kawulich, 2005). It has for many years been a hallmark of both anthropological and sociological studies (Kawulich, 2005) which has utilised the participant observation method deeply (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994, and Mason, 1996). The first anthropological study was carried out by Frank Hamilton Cushing in 1879 who was a participant observer for four years with the Zuni Pueblo people conducting a study on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology. Participant observation continued with the work of Beatrice Potter Webb in 1888 who studied the poor neighbourhoods where she lived (Kawulich, 2005). From this point social scientists such as Mead and Malinowski continued to develop and refine participant observation. Alongside other qualitative methods such as interviewing, observation, and document analysis, participant observation is an essential and central element of ethnographic research (Kawulich, 2005 and Sanday, 1979) yet it is probably fair to state that it remains the most neglected research method in sport (Gratton and Jones, 2004).

Unlike ethnography, the definition of participant observation has been less controversial but according to Atkinson and Hammersley (1994: 248), "its meaning is no easier to pin down". Observation provides a means of collecting data by systematically observing "interactions, relationships, actions, events and so on" (Mason, 1996) in order to gain an empathetic understanding of a

particular group's behaviour (Gratton and Jones, 2004). Participation involves the total immersion of the researcher within a culture as a full time resident or member in order to carry out observation (Schensul *et al*, 1999, cited in Kawulich, 2005). Participant observation then is "the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities" (Kawulich, 2005: 2). Riemer (2008) suggests that participant observers take part in whatever is going on within the research setting in order to better understand the insider or the experience. In terms of this study, I tried to integrate into the village and attend as many community based events as possible, including any meetings held by the South East Cornwall Surf Club. I did not however participate in surfing itself during my time in the setting. There are three reasons for this, firstly I am an inexperienced surfer and therefore would not have the standard needed to become involved with any Local Surfer groups within the water, especially when they surfed reef breaks such as Hessiock which carries a much higher level of risk than beach breaks. Secondly, I already had an understanding of the fraternal bonds between surfers and felt that my presence in the water would cause tension and would not lead to any further insight. In support of my choice, Mulhall (2003) believes that a participant observer may have some idea as to what to observe initially and therefore makes a choice on what to observe and what not to observe. In order for the researcher to carry out observational research they must enter the lives of their subjects or chosen research area suspending as much as possible his or her own ways of viewing the world (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). This is because the researcher in participant observation is an instrument of data collection (Brown, 1990 cited in Sparkes, 1992). Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) highlight the fourfold typology set out by God (1958) and Junker (1960) used in relation to participant observation which describes the researcher as either a complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer, and complete participant. The researcher's choice of which type to take up depends according to Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) to whether the researcher is carrying research overtly or covertly; how much and what is known about the researcher; what activities the

researcher engages in; and what orientation the researcher takes. As stated above, the researcher can choose to enter this situation either overtly or covertly. Mason (1996: 65) and Maykut and Morehouse (1994: 70) note that many ethical codes would urge the researcher against conducting covert research, a method Mason describes as “deceitful” and Maykut and Morehouse as “deceptive”. The argument is that covert research removes a person’s right to privacy and in some cases people will be unaware of their inclusion within a study (Mulhall, 2003). Mulhall (2003) notes that covert research therefore requires considerable justification. Its use however has been justified in sensitive studies such as Mays and Pope’s (1995, cited in Mulhall, 2003) work on football hooliganism and the generally covert observation is justified on the utilitarian grounds that it is a benefit for others later or in instances where it might liberate individuals (Johnson, 1992, cited in Mulhall, 2003). Mason understands that even overt research is not always easy and possible because of the researcher’s inability to control his or her identity, status, or role. By choosing to adopt an overt approach, the researcher must then approach the key individuals or gatekeepers of the research area (Becker, 1970 in Maykut and Morehouse, 1994).

The observational method has much strength that has lead to its use within this study. In comparison to other methods such as the interview or questionnaire method, which sometimes can be biased because respondents wish to alter information about themselves, participant observation provides access to what DeMunck and Sobo define as “backstage culture” (1998: 43, cited in Kawulich, 2005: 6) providing more accurate data. Again, in comparison with these methods participant observation observes behaviour rather than questions people about it (Gratton and Jones, 2004). This also means that it is possible to record a phenomenon as and when it happens providing reach detailed description (Kawulich, 2005) as opposed to relying on subject’s memories or recall of events (Gratton and Jones, 2004). The setting of research within participant observation also takes on a more natural setting, often at unscheduled events (Kawulich, 2005), adding context to the behaviour the

researcher is witnessing. Finally participant observation allows the identification of behaviours not apparent to the subject, allowing the researcher to identify everyday behaviour and also behaviour or information that the subject may have not been willing to show or disclose when in an interview or questionnaire situation (Gratton and Jones, 2004). However, researchers must be aware of its limitations when applying this method within a study in order to prohibit the amount of data lost or research areas abandoned. A primary danger lies in the operational definitions of the study. Thomas and Nelson (1996: 338) suggest that the "behaviours must be carefully defined to be observable" and that consequently "the actions may be so restricted that they do not depict the critical behaviour". A further limitation is the researcher's ability to observe effectively and accurately. An element of this is selecting the most appropriate and relevant information during what may be a fast paced, multi faceted conversation. I found that my experience within the field as time went on limited the amount of misunderstanding that occurred and that the use of other methods in conjunction with participant observation such as interviews and field notes, ensured that the phenomenon and subject being studied had been correctly understood. There also has to be consideration as to the difficulties of recording data (Gratton and Jones, 2004). Using technology can be intrusive and in this study it is not possible to use multiple researchers, and therefore the researcher has to rely on a good memory and the ability to record notes on observation as soon as possible or at the time if appropriate. In this study recording was usually undertaken at the end of the day as many of the observations occurred during evening events. This would occur either at my own house on returning from Hessiock, or at the gatekeepers house that I would stay at in Hessiock. The narrative method of recording data was used and this would often take a while to record as many of the events I was present at were highly attended and therefore there were many interesting encounters with participants during the event that needed to be recorded. Finally, although the researcher can take steps to decrease this weakness, his or her presence within an observational situation will almost always affect the behaviour of the subjects (Thomas and Nelson, 1996). This was noted at one of

the early Cold Water Classic meetings were a participant made a statement about the event and then jokingly asked whether I had written it down. Events such as this became fewer as time went on and it was considered that the group had grown more comfortable with my presence and had accepted me into their group. It is possible to undertake covert observations where the subjects are unaware that they are being watched as long as ethical issues and how the data will be recorded are taken into consideration (Gratton and Jones, 2004). Covert observations were not common within this study as many of the participants being observed had already been informed on the study through the Cold Water Classic meetings. These meetings are an example of overt participant observation where little information was given on the study in order to limit the affect it had on the subject's. The only information given to subjects was background information on myself, including where I was currently studying, and the fact I had an interest in surfing and community. Finally, bordering both as a possible strength and weakness at times is that fact that male and female researchers have varying access to information because of their different access to people, settings, and bodies of knowledge (DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002, cited in Kawulich, 2005). Without even realising the researcher is a biased human who acts as the instrument for data collection in participant observation and therefore they must understand how their gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, and theoretical approach may affect their participant observation. In this study it was considered that gender may be an issue at times because there was a section of the interview which questioned about female participation in surfing and in particular why the subject being interviewed felt that this was lower than male participation. It was noticeably difficult for many male surfers to answer this question being given by a female researcher with one interviewee in particular adding the fact he was sexist before giving his answer. In contrast however it was felt that many of the women felt comfortable in answering this question and felt they could give an honest answer where they didn't have to defend themselves. Therefore, my gender as a researcher represented both strengths and weaknesses. The participants were unaware of my sexuality or theoretical approach and therefore it can be assumed that this

did not seem to have any affect on participant observation within this study. However it is possible that my ethnicity (English) and class (Middle class) may have done yet the researcher was unaware of any data indicating that these factors had affected data.

On reflection of DeWalt and DeWalt's (2002, cited in Kawulich, 2005) work, Kawulich (2005: 5) states that when designing a research study and determining whether to use participant observation the researcher must consider "the types of questions guiding the study, the site under study, what opportunities are available at the site for observation, the representativeness of the participants of the population at that site, and the strategies used to record and analyse data". Within this study participant observation was used when focusing on the Cold Water Classic. Prior to the event, meetings were held by the East Caradon Surf Club as to the organisation of the event. It was proposed that this would be the best location with the most appropriate subjects to gain information on the event, surfing in the area and the community around which the event is held. The gatekeeper was viewed as Tanya Heel (names are all changed for confidentiality) who's official title was club secretary, but from conversations with a previous organiser was the main organiser of the event. After initial emails with Tanya an invitation was extended to attend the organisational meetings. Tanya and other members who attended the meetings were made aware of the study and informed consent was given by all who attended and therefore an overt path was chosen in order to avoid the ethical risks of a covert one. This lead to a brief introduction of the study at the first meeting which was quickly subdued in order for the meeting to begin and further observation to take place. Observations can be recorded in many ways including narrative, continual recording via note taking, the interval method and the duration method (Thomas and Nelson, 1996). Perhaps most appropriate to this study is the narrative method of recording where the researcher records in a series of sentences the occurrences as they happen, working chronologically through the observation time (Thomas and Nelson, 1996). This is often seen as an appropriate method for taking field notes as "Humans are storytelling

organisms who, individually and collectively, lead storied lives” (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990:3). However, as Clandinin and Huber (2002:164) note “Living in the midst of stories is not an easy undertaking...Being in the field...involves settling into the temporal unfolding of lives”. However, the piecing together of data within the field notes leads to the process of greater understanding of the data. This observation method was chosen as it was felt that it provided the most thorough representation of events unlike the interval method which can sometimes lead to data being forgotten and then left unrecorded. Although it can be argued that continual recording via note taking during and after the event leads to the most accurate form of data, it was felt unrealistic to be able to continually record throughout the observation without possibly omitting relevant data. The narrative method enables the researcher to give an accurate account of events whilst noting down in detail any significant points made by participants. It is also good at initiating memory recall for the researcher as it can place them right back at the scene of the observation in their mind. Any notes taken during participant observation were recorded on a note pad in the format found in Figure Five. These notes were transferred to a computer for security and efficiency at a later point. As Kawulich (2005: 5) states “participant observation is a beginning step in ethnographic studies” and to increase the credibility of the study it has already been stated that other methods should be used alongside participant observation. Therefore in this study participant observation alongside field notes provided an initial opportunity to gather data and information in the setting as well as highlighting people who may be appropriate to interview. Once subjects for interview had been highlighted and the Cold Water Classic meetings had come to an end, so did the use of participant observation in this study.

Figure Five.

Participant Observation

Location:
Date:
Persons Present:

Narrative Account in Chronological Order

Narrative
account of the
event
attended or
situation
researcher is
in

Field Notes

Although deeply associated with ethnography, field notes according to Schneider (2000) can be regarded as a genre in their own right due to the specific writing and reading practices associated with them. However as this is an ethnographic study it is there place within this discipline that is of interest. According to Sands (2002: 75) “field notes have always been the symbol of an ethnographer” and are a typical means for recording observational data in ethnographic research (Walsh, 2004). Mulhall (2003) notes that the lack of historical interest in field notes is extraordinary considering their central place in ethnographies. Emerson *et al* (2001: 352) note that “only in the past decade or so have ethnographers moved beyond analysing the rhetorical strategies of finished ethnographies...to consider another more mundane form of ethnographic inscription...written fieldnotes”. It is from this point that Emerson *et al* (2001) believe that ethnographers have given attention to elements such as character, style and approach to field notes and the effective training of field note novices. Emerson *et al* (2001) go on to note that the recent discovery of field notes is ironic as in comparison to writing finished ethnographies, field notes provide primal moments for ethnographers.

According to Emerson *et al* (2001) and Mulhall (2003), field notes have been advanced by several key works including *Tales of the Field* (Van Maanen, 1988), *Fieldnotes: The Making of Anthropology* (Sanjek, 1990), *The Ethnographic Imagination* (Atkinson, 1990), and *Analysing Social Settings* (Lofland and Lofland, 1995).

Although related to the participant observation method above, field notes refer more to the “chance” meetings and findings than the contrived presence of the observer in observational research settings. As Mason (1996) states, field notes record a researchers observations and interpretations in a more or less reflexive manner. Written field notes involving a pen and paper remain, according to Sands (2002), the staple method for recording. Sanjek (1990, cited in Emerson *et al*, 2001) noted that many researchers referred to field notes using different terms such as “head notes”, “scratch notes”, “field notes proper”, “fieldnote records”, “texts”, “journals and diaries”, and “letters, reports, papers”. These terms arise out of situations and instances where field notes are recorded on all types of materials, all shapes, and all sizes and reflect personal styles, preferences, and assumptions ethnographers hold about ethnography (Emerson *et al*, 2001). Marvasti (2004) believes there are two points to remember when recording field notes. Firstly, that the researcher must jot down key phrases, concepts or general information that can later stimulate the memory when details can be added, and secondly, that the researcher should not be consumed with note taking as this could annoy the subjects around you and at the possible risk of missing key events (Marvasti, 2004). Walsh (2004) also notes three central issues for making good field notes; how to write it down, what to write down, and when to write it down. In answering how to write down field notes, Walsh (2004) believes the researcher has to be meticulous in their recording and therefore this also relates to what to write down. Walsh (2004: 234) states “as social scenes an inexhaustible, some selection has to be made”. Concerning what should be written down Sands (2002) believes field notes record what researchers observe and experience, translating the representations, images, and words into a record. As far as what the researcher observes and

experiences, Marvasti (2004) believes that this can include what the researcher can see, hear, smell touch and feel and in terms of describing individuals in the field. Marvasti's (2004) point highlights the current interest in what Pink (2009) describes as "sensory ethnography": "a process of doing ethnography that accounts for how the multisensoriality is integral both to the lives of people who participate in our research and to how we ethnographers practice our craft" (Pink, 2009: 1). Due to researcher being concerned with one or another sensory modality in their analyses, Pink (2009) encompasses a concern for smell, taste, touch and vision. Schensul *et al* (1999) believes that description should include details of appearance, clothing, shoes, carriage, items carried by person, and indicators of the status of the material items. The flood of information in the field according to Marvasti (2004) can therefore be overwhelming and for this reason I was sometimes unable to produce a full description taking into account all senses. In research situations this forced me to concentrate on some sense more than others. Gratton and Jones (2004) note that field notes need to be descriptive in terms of setting, participants, and relevant actions and behaviours, detailed, and reflective containing the researchers account of the situation. Pelto and Pelto (1978: 71, cited in Schensul *et al* (1999: 115) agree stating that the ethnographer should describe "the observations themselves rather than the low level inferences derived from the observations". Field notes quite basically then contain what the researcher has seen and heard, there should be no interpretation of the data at this point (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) and "inferences and personal observations, reflections, hunches, and emotional reactions of the field researcher" should be left to be recorded later and separately from the field notes which describe the situation or event (Schensul *et al*, 1999). When it came to writing up the field notes similarly to Brewer (2004) a note was kept of the data, location and persons present in the setting under observation. Finally, in terms of when field notes should be written down, Sanjek (1990, cited in Sands, 2002) comments that "scratch notes" should be written up daily to avoid any loss of context. Leaving the writing up of field notes to a later point leads to issues of memory recall and the quality of the field notes can deteriorate (Walsh, 2004). However,

the researcher must gauge whether it is appropriate to write up the field notes in the situation and setting they are in at the time. Angrosino (2007) believes the importance of keeping structured and organised field notes cannot be overemphasised and sets out five strict points on their maintenance;

- every note or recording is headed by the date, place and time of observation
- as many verbatim exchanges as possible should be noted down
- pseudonyms should be used to identify participants
- field notes should be recorded chronologically
- descriptions of people and material should be on an objective level

Mason (1996) believes that a strength of using field notes and a reason which makes their use essential for the experiential nature of observation lies in the researchers ability to observe, record and analyse one's own role in the experience of the setting and its interactions. A further strength is that fact that the field note method is inexpensive with the only resources needed being a note pad and pen (Marvasti, 2004). A limitation of the field note method however lies in the reality that the researcher will often have a backlog of observations they wish to write up which can lead to issues with the accuracy of the researchers memory. Whenever this occurred in this study, which was notably not that often, I would consult participants that were involved in the observations as soon as possible and enter into conversation about the event in order to prompt memory recall of the event. This sometimes also elicited fresh data from the participant. In relation to this point, Riemer (2008: 249) comments that in many cases the writing up of field notes can be a time consuming and tedious process but "like it or not, avoidance is impossible". Another aspect that needs to be considered according to Sands (2002) is that considerable time is required to turn field notes into a valuable commodity to be used in the analysis stage of a study. Although this can be true of field notes, it was felt that any raw data, drawn out using various methods was time consuming at the point of analysis and that this was not specific to field notes. Finally, one limitation which can have a large effect on the study is that if the

researcher comes from the community or has spent a significant period of time in the field, the feeling of familiarity this produces can often lead to a confidence and view that field notes are unnecessary because knowledge of the field and its subjects is deeply implicit (Schensul *et al*, 1999). Using the advice of Schensul *et al* (1999) I endeavoured to remember that field notes are not just for their own use and that carefully taken field notes can highlight patterns over time that may not be obvious in the mind of the researcher. Within this study there was a significant decline in the taking of field notes by the researcher from the beginning of the study to its end, This was due to other methods such as the interview method proving more fruitful in information and becoming more suited to addressing the research question.

Emerson *et al* (2001) note the varying approaches to field notes and a spectrum that exists where at one extreme ethnographers place field notes at the core of their study and at the other where field notes are viewed as a preliminary activity. Within this study, the researchers approach to field notes was an initial activity as I spent time within the research area and in the presence of subjects without any observational reason. Therefore, field notes were used to note down any observations and conversations that could be used as data within this study. Field notes were of great importance during the initial stages of data collection as it informed the researcher as to who may be suitable to approach for interviews. Once the interview process began taking place, field notes became less important and worthy due to the reasons set out above. In this way they ethnography evolved and little was recorded in the form of field notes towards the end of the study. Field notes within this study were recorded in the following format found in Figure Six in a note pad which was carried around during time spent in the setting. Around one hundred pages of notes on A5 paper were made. From this point field notes were then copied onto a computer for security and efficiency. Field notes taken in this study are featured in part as evidence throughout the results and discussion section of this study. However a decision was made not include them in full within this

study as this was felt to be unnecessary and would compromise the identity of many of the participants.

Figure Six.

Field Notes

Location:
Date:
Persons Present:

<u>What Happened, Fact</u>	<u>Sensory Notes</u>
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; width: 60%; margin: auto;"> Factual notes made from observations </div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 10px; width: 60%; margin: auto;"> Sensory notes made correspon ding in time with factual notes </div>

Interviews

According to Marvasti (2004), the interview is one the most elementary forms of data collection and “within the interpretive paradigm, qualitative approaches have been dominant and have generally drawn on interviewing as a major method of data collection” (Amis 2005: 104). Quite simply “an interview is a conversation with a purpose” (Berg, 1989; Dexter, 1970; Lincoln and Guba, 1985 all cited in Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) with the purpose being to gain information from the interviewee’s perspective, the primary data source within the interpretive paradigm (Tenenbaum and Driscoll, 2005). Unlike other methods of data collection, interviews offer a depth of information that “permits the detailed exploration of particular issues” (Amis, 2005).

According to Angrosino (2007), the ethnographic interview allows the researcher to probe for meaning, to explore nuances, and to capture the grey areas that might be missed in questions that merely suggest the surface of an issue. Looking at the interview simplistically with setting and purpose aside, the format for an interview is fairly consistent with questions being posed to

individuals who are expected to provide meaningful responses (Marvasti, 2004). Maykut and Morehouse (1994) believe that interviews can take place during informal conversations with the interviewee not realising they are even being interviewed and therefore interview encounters such as this can be plentiful in everyday life (Marvasti, 2004). Sands (2000) describes this form of interview as informal. Angrosino (2007) agrees that ethnographic interviews are indeed conversational as in many cases the prolonged period of time in the field forms a relationship between researcher and participant and therefore it can be between people who have grown to be friends or at least familiar with each other. Yet Angrosino (2007) continues to state that an ethnographic interview must go beyond being a friendly conversation and therefore a more formal underlying structure must be in place for an ethnographic interview. Within this study it is the formal interview that is of more interest as it is usually prearranged and involves a set of designed questions (Sands, 2000). Within formal interviews the structure can range from being a structured format to a relatively unstructured format (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). Within formal interviews participants agree to be interviewed (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). In line with suggestions made by Gratton and Jones (2004), in this study participants chose the interview location in order to make them feel comfortable during the interview situation. However, it is important that this location is relatively private so that the presence of other people will not bias the interviewee's answers (Gratton and Jones, 2004). There was one instance where the interview took place in the pub, a very public setting, however, the interview situation took place in a corner of the pub away from other members of the public, who were themselves involved in their own pursuits and therefore it was felt that in this instance the presences of other people provided little chance for interruption and disruption during the interview. Sands (2000) recommends the taping or recording of interviews alongside the researchers note taking as it is most valuable within interviews and afterwards during analysis (Angrosino, 2007). By recording the interview, the interviewer is left to concentrate on the conversation, maintaining eye-contact, acknowledging and noting down the interviewee's body language

(Dawson, 2002, and Tenebaum and Driscoll, 2005). As Marvasti (2004) states, audio recording should not be seen as a substitute for note taking as it does not see or take notice of the social context. Recording the interview also assures the accuracy of what is said both by the interviewee and the interviewer (Angrosino, 2007). Although recording can mean requiring a fair amount of equipment, in the case of this study an MP3 player with a conference recorder was used and a dictaphone with spare batteries was taken as well to be a back up. Kvale (1996) notes that as most interviews are being recorded this gives the opportunity for words and their tone, pauses, and the like to be recorded. It was proposed that body language and sensory notes were also taken. Once the interview has finished it was essential to transcribe the interview which according to Angrosino (2007) is a tedious process however helped by my previous experience as a medical secretary where transcribing notes was a daily task. According to Kvale (1996:160) "Rather than being a simple clerical task, transcription is itself an interpretive process" which occurs from taking the narrative mode of oral discourse to written discourse and therefore it can be said that analysis of the data collected at interview begins at the transcription stage.

There are many types and forms of interview but what is most suitable for this study is the semi-structured interview as according to Angrosino (2007), after the open ended interview, this type best suits the ethnographic approach. Within the semi-structured interview method the interviewer sets the tone of the interview, guiding the interviewee through conversation, accommodating digressions and keeping their input to a minimum in order to retrieve as much data as possible from the interviewee (Angrosino, 2007 and Sands, 2000). In preparation for this type of interview the researcher should review all the data collected from previous participant observation and field notes and from this create a few general questions that will provide further insight into the topics he or she is concerned about Angrosino (2007). In this study interviews generally took a focus either on community or identity. Each focus had a different set of general questions drawn up. These pre determined questions

are not set in stone but are a general guide for the researcher to follow and ensure that the interview remains close to the topic. The relatively loose flow of the semi-structured ethnographic interview means that it is typically in depth and open-ended in nature (Angrosino, 2007). Mason (2002) notes there are four features of semi-structured interviews; firstly, that there is an interactional exchange of dialogue; secondly, that the style of the interview is relatively informal; thirdly, that the researcher has a number of chosen topics, themes or issues they wish to cover; and finally, that the “relevant contexts are brought into focus so that situated knowledge can be produced” (Mason, 2002: 62). Even with the slight relaxed format of a semi structured interview the researcher should design an interview schedule. The interview schedule begins by introducing the purpose and structure of the interview to the interviewee, “setting the scene” so that the interviewee is not confused (Gratton and Jones, 2004). In the interviews I conducted this included a brief background as to who I was before introducing the study itself. As advised by Mason (2002), the interview progresses onto a warm up topic. Open questions should be used to put the interviewee at ease and allow and encourage them to begin talking comfortably (Gratton and Jones, 2004). In the interviews I conducted this included questions such asAs the interview continues and the interviewee is relaxed and focused, vital open questions concerning the study can be asked as they will feel more encouraged to talk freely at this point and it will limit the chance of predetermined responses (Tenebaum and Driscoll, 2005). These questions must be grouped by concept or topic, be clearly worded, unambiguous and understandable (Gratton and Jones, 2004).

According to Hyllegard (2002) and Dawson (2002), the advantage of a semi-structured interview method is that the interviewee and interviewer are flexible to talk around the questions so detailed answers can be given and other important information can arise. Cohen *et al* (2003) also note that the flexible format and time frame within a semi-structured interview also allows for any misunderstandings experienced by the interviewee to be raised, especially where misinterpreting questions are concerned. However, this flexibility may

cause the interviewer or interviewee to lead the conversation from the subject and therefore it is important that the interviewer remains impartial and aims to keep the conversation within the chosen subject (Thomas and Nelson, 1996). A limitation of the interview method however lies in its recording of data. If, as in this study, audio recording will take place, the researcher has to be aware that the interviewee may be self-conscious and that the situation will arouse rational fears for them about how the material will be used, in what context, and for what audience (Marvasti, 2004). This is where an introduction to the study and the obtaining of informed consent from the interviewee are crucial in striving to overcome this limitation. A further limitation in the use of audio equipment for the recording of interviews is the fact that in Marvasti's (2004) experience, interviewee's tend to shift their speech to a more formal tone and take on a particular persona, an occurrence which fortunately only lasts for a few minutes and dissipates during the beginnings of the interview. This is why an interview must contain some clear "warm up" questions as it were, not only to ease the interviewee into the interview situation, but to also allow the dissipation of their formal tone and initial persona.

Within this study interviews were used to ask specific questions on the two key themes of this topic; identity and community which in turn shapes knowledge on the surfing subculture in this area. In ethnographic research typically the gatekeepers assist the researcher in initially navigating the field (Marvasti, 2004) and in this study they proposed possible subjects for interview alongside initial data collection using participant observation and field notes. During participant observation and field notes there is a point where the researcher recognises meaningful patterns in the behaviour they have observed. According to Angrosino (2007) this is the point where questions concerning what the observed behaviours mean should be asked of the knowledgeable people in the community. As Angrosino (2007: 42) states "interviewing grows logically out of observation". The sound recordings of interviews were transcribed and placed with the notes on observation into the table found in Figure Seven. Similarly to participant observation and field notes, data from

interviews will feature throughout the results and discussion section of this study.

Figure Seven.

Interview					
<div>Location:</div> <div>Date:</div> <div>Time:</div> <div>Summary:</div>					
Interviewer	Interviewee	Body Language	Sensory	Code	Initial Interpretation
<div>Transcribed from the recording made of the interview</div>		<div>Taken from notes made during the interview</div>		<div>Analysis and theoretical inference of the observations made and the results of the interview</div>	

Issues of Validity and Reliability

According to Healy and Perry (2000, cited in Golafshani, 2003: 601) “the quality of a study in each paradigm should be judged by its own paradigm’s terms”. They give the example that reliability and validity in the positivist paradigm refers to the necessity for quality. This is illustrated through the refinement of its methods in measuring what it claims to measure and the consistency or repeatability of a measure (Thomas and Nelson, 1996). In contrast, within the Interpretivist paradigm reliability and validity represent terms such as credibility, neutrality, consistency and dependability that are essential for quality therefore the issues of reliability and validity raised concerning the researcher include all the terms raised above. Despite the Interpretivist movement away from the use of the terms reliability and validity Golafshani (2003) believes that similarly to the positivist paradigm, testing or maximising the validity and as a result the reliability of an Interpretivist study is possible

(Golafshani, 2003). Angen (2000) outlines two areas of validity to consider within the Interpretivist paradigm: ethical validity and substantive validity. Ethical validity concerns the recognition by the researcher that his or her choices have political and ethical considerations (Angen, 2000). Angen (2000) states that the researcher needs to ask if their research is helpful to the target population, to seek out alternative explanations than those the researcher constructs, and ask if others academics will learn something from their work. Substantive Validity concerns the process of evaluating the content of the interpretive study. According to Angen (2000) the study should exhibit evidence of the interpretive choices the researcher has made, an assessment of the biases intrinsic to work over the time span of the study, and self reflection to understand the researchers own transformation in the research process. Flick (2007) also suggests several ways for assessing quality in qualitative research. One of these suggestions is to take the classic criteria for quantitative research, validity and reliability and apply them or modify them for work within qualitative research (Flick, 2007). In exploring the perspective of Morse *et al* (2002), Cohen and Crabtree (2008) recognise the importance of validity and reliability as criteria for evaluating qualitative research. Morse *et al* (2002) state that “without validity and reliability, qualitative research risks being seen as non-scientific and lacking rigor”.

Despite researchers within the Interpretivist paradigm continuing to use the terms validity and reliability, it has already been proposed that many researchers believed these terms were only applicable to the positivist paradigm and that they had rejected them for more appropriate terms such as credibility, neutrality, consistency and dependability. This contention is most notable when focusing on qualitative research. In discussing suggestions for assessing quality in qualitative research Flick (2007) comments that there should be a more method-appropriate criteria as the traditional criteria of validity and reliability miss the features of qualitative research and methods. Despite being drawn by the work of Morse *et al* (2002), Cohen and Crabtree (2008) agree and discuss a second approach which views validity and reliability

as inappropriate for qualitative research which leads to discussion as to whether there can be an alternative criteria relevant for assessing qualitative research. This has been the objective of many qualitative researchers who oppose the use of the terms reliability and validity within qualitative research claiming that they pertain to quantitative research (Altheide and Johnson, 1998; Leininger, 1994; both cited in Morse *et al*, 2002). Guba and Lincoln (1981) were the first researchers to substitute reliability and validity with the concept of “trustworthiness” that contained four aspects: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Trochim (2006) believes that these four aspects can be directly related to the traditional criteria for judging quantitative research in that credibility can be related to internal validity, transferability to external validity, dependability to reliability, and confirmability to objectivity. Morse *et al* (2002) and Flick (2007) reflect and analyse on the issue of trustworthiness and note that Guba and Lincoln (1981) outline five strategies for increasing the credibility of qualitative research and to attain trustworthiness, they are to have a prolonged engagement and persistent observation in the field, to have peer briefing sessions to reveal one’s own blind spots, to analyse negative cases, to ensure the appropriateness of the terms of reference of interpretations and their assessment, and to conduct member checks in order to validate data and interpretations. These are in line with Ratcliff’s (1995) approaches to finding validity and reliability in qualitative research. Ratcliff proposes that validity can be found through divergence from initial expectations, convergence with other sources of data, extensive quotations, other research data, independent checks/multiple researchers and member check and reliability can be found quite simply through multiple viewings of videotape, multiple listenings of audio tape and multiple transcriptions of audio tape. Morse *et al* (2002) also note the importance of the characteristics of the investigator, “who must be responsive and adaptable to changing circumstances, holistic, having professional immediacy, sensitivity, and ability for clarification and summarization” (Guba & Lincoln, 1981 cited in Morse *et al*, 2002: 5). Although Guba (1981) described his work with Lincoln as “primitive”, Morse *et al* (2002) acknowledge that it was fundamental in

developing the standards used to evaluate the quality in qualitative inquiry. Guba and Lincoln's work prompted a response in other researchers who rapidly followed in suggesting different terms for what was a similar definition (Morse *et al*, 2002). This resulted in a plethora of terms which presently causes confusion and has resulted in what Morse *et al* (2002: 5) describe as "a deteriorating ability to actually discern rigor" or trustworthiness (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

Cohen and Crabtree (2008) determine that reliability and validity "should not be evaluated at the end of the project, but should be goals that shape the entire research process, influencing study design, data collection, and analysis choices". Within this study Lincoln and Guba's (1981) concept of trustworthiness and the four aspects of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability will be applied rather than reliability and validity, and therefore it is at this point then that the further insight into trustworthiness should be made in order as Cohen and Crabtree (2008) state, to illustrate how it has shaped the research process, influenced study design, data collection, and analysis choices. When addressing each element of trustworthiness issues will be outlined and suggestions on how to overcome them and address trustworthiness will be presented in general and concerning this study.

Credibility involves establishing that any results are credible or believable from the perspective of the participant in the research. Ensuring credibility is of great importance as according to Trochim (2006:web page) "the purpose of qualitative research is to describe or understand the phenomena of interest from the participants eyes" and "the participants are the only ones who can legitimately judge the credibility of the results". One way of achieving credibility is to undertake what Walsh (2004) describes as member validation consisting of showing the findings to the subjects or participants in order to seek verification in order for them to recognise a correspondence between the data and what they have said and done. However, although this can prove

authenticity, the subjects may not be aware of things they have said and done and more importantly why. Even if this process proves unsuccessful from providing authenticity, it can according to Bloor (1983, cited in Walsh, 2004), stimulate to generate further data and possibly provide new paths for analysis. DeWalt and DeWalt (2002, cited in Kawulich, 2005) suggest that using the participant observation method within a study is already a way of increasing the credibility of the study as observations help form a better understanding of the context and phenomenon of the study, the reason for its use within study. There are also ways that researchers can improve the credibility of participant observation itself, including the use of additional methods, the use of multiple observers, analytic induction, and/or verisimilitude. The use of additional methods, such as field notes and interviews in this study can improve the credibility of the study further (Kawulich, 2005). According to Denzin (1989, cited in Flick, 2007: 76) the triangulation of different methods alongside participant observation is a feature of participant observation itself as it is “defined as a field strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection”. As in other forms of research the researcher includes a sufficient number of subjects and observations per subject to have adequate what Thomas and Nelson (1996) describe as *internal* and *external* validity. Although not possible in this study, Graneheim *et al* (2001, cited in Mulhall, 2003) suggest the use of multiple participant observers in order to gain more than one insight into the same situation and improve credibility. Analytic induction means that emergent cases are tested in order to find negative cases. The goal according to Angrosino (2007) is to achieve assertions that can be taken as universal in relation to the dataset. This method was not applied within this study as it was deemed to be positivistic in nature, contradicting the perspective of this study. It was also viewed as time consuming and could discount vital information. Finally, verisimilitude is a style of writing that draws the reader into the world being studied using rich descriptive language so as to evoke a mood of recognition. As Angrosino (2007: 60) states, “ethnographic observations only become “valid” when they have been

rendered into some sort of coherent, consistent narrative". The narrative recording method used during participant observation and field note taking is comparable with verisimilitude and therefore it is possible to state that this method is applied within this study. Bernard (1994, cited in Kawulich, 2005) lists five reasons for the use of participant observation and field notes in cultural studies which improve the studies credibility. Firstly, there is the possibility of collecting multiple types of data. Secondly, but only applicable in covert participant observation, it limits incidences of people acting as they are unaware that they are being observed. However as Turnock and Gibson (2001, cited in Mulhall, 2003) explore credibility and transferability (what they term as validity) in relation to the role of the participant observer they note the threat that can occur during covert research when participants become aware they are being observed. It is because of this reason that any participant observation in this study takes place overtly. A third reason laid out by Bernard (1994, cited in Kawulich, 2005) is that it helps the researcher to develop questions that are culturally relevant. Fourthly, that the researcher receives a better understanding of what is happening in the culture and fifthly and finally that it is sometimes the only way to collect the "right data" for a study. In terms of the interview method utilised within this study, credibility can be established by providing any subjects that are interviewed with transcripts that they can read and amend if necessary. This technique was applied within this study initially with the first interviews that were transcribed. However on sending them to the participants for credibility, they were never returned despite reminding emails. It then had to be assumed that they had received the email but felt that no changes were needed.

Dependability concerns the need for the researcher to account for the ever-changing context within which research occurs (Trochim, 2006). According to Hansen (1979 cited in LeCompte, 1982) dependability or reliability, as used by the author, in "ethnographic research is dependent on the resolution of both external and internal design problems". External reliability concerns whether other researchers would discover the same phenomena as found by previous

researchers, whereas internal reliability concerns whether other researchers would produce data in the same way as the original researcher (LeCompte, 1982). Walsh (2004) believes that the fragmentary nature of ethnographic data introduces problems concerning dependability. In particular checking for dependability may be an issue because of missing data. However one way of achieving dependability in a study by the researcher taking time to describe the changes that occur in the setting and the affects they have on the study. According to Angrosino (2007), the reliability, or dependability, of participant observation is achieved by systematic recording and analysis of data and the repetition of observations regularly over the data collection period. However, this is a more scientific way of approaching dependability and is difficult to achieve when taking an ethnographic approach. However it was possible in the initial stage of the study to undertake regular observations. Gratton and Jones (2004) suggest that reliability, dependability to the researcher, in an interview can be enhanced through an interview schedule, maintaining a consistent interviewing environment, and recording the interview with the interviewee's permission, transcribing as soon as possible after the interview. This technique was applied in every interview carried out during the study.

Confirmability concerns the degree to which the results could be confirmed or supported by others (Trochim, 2006). Trochim (2006) suggests a number of strategies for enhancing confirmability and perhaps the most appropriate for this study include the use of a "devil's advocate" in the form of another researcher, to question the results and the process of documentation, implementing procedures for checking and rechecking the data throughout the study, actively searching as a researcher for negative instances of data that contradict prior observations, and finally a data audit can be carried out by the researcher that can involve an examination and analysis for potential bias or distortion. Within this study confirmability is increased by following the advice of Bernard (1994, cited in Kawulich, 2005) and selecting participants who are culturally competent in the topic being studied. For example, many of the participants who were interviewed concerning community, were deeply

involved in community groups and had lived in the village for a significant amount of time. Equally, participants being interviewed concerning identity were all surfers from the local area.

Transferability determines to what extent the conclusions represent the reality and whether the constructs devised by the researcher represent or measure categories of human experience (Hansen, 1979; Pelto and Pelto, 1978; both cited in LeCompte, 1982). Ensuring transferability is the concern of the person doing the “generalising”, which in this study would be myself as the researcher. Trochim (2006) suggests that the researcher can enhance transferability by thoroughly describing the research context and the assumptions that were central to the research. Validity, transferability and credibility to the researcher, can be harder to ensure because the transcription is a tool for interpretation and therefore the methods of obtaining the transcripts should be stated clearly so that the validity of the transcripts can be evaluated (Gratton and Jones, 2004). An example demonstrating the concerns for transferability and credibility within an interview method is that it is possible that the interviewer is more than likely to improve their interview technique progressively through the study leading to the results of earlier interviews possibly differing from interviews conducted further into the study (Thomas and Nelson, 1996). A solution to increase transferability and credibility, and one which was utilised within this study, is to practice the interview situation and questions so that the first interviews would begin on the high standard that would be expected in the final interviews.

Moving Towards Analysis

Miles and Huberman (1994:50) strongly recommend early analysis as “it helps the field-worker cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new, often better, data”. Analysis in this ethnography began in the pre-fieldwork stage of the study with the formulation and clarification of the research question. The analysis then continued through the data collection period as I sought to understand the data being collected

(Walsh, 2004). During these stages of early analysis, the content analysis method of codes and coding, suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994) was utilised. This was chosen over narrative analysis which is the study of oral accounts of personal experience (Cortazzi, 1993). There were several reasons for this; firstly, it was felt that this study had too many participants. Riessman (1993) admits that the methods utilised within narrative analysis are slow and painstaking because of their attention to subtlety and therefore is suited to a study with a small number of participants. This suitability also means that comparison across samples is limited and conclusions and theories are developed on the basis of close observation of a few individuals (Riessman, 1993). The range of participants in this study enabled comparison across a breadth of participants through the content analysis. This meant that a “full picture” of the substantial themes associated with the Local Surfer could be achieved.

According to Wolcott (2001:33) Content analysis is a good example of the more restricted meaning of analysis which he defines as “follow[ing] standard procedures for observing, measuring, and communicating with others about the nature of what is there, the reality of the everyday world as we experience it”. A method of content analysis is codes and coding which is an “efficient data labelling and data retrieval device [that] empower[s] and speed[s] up analysis” and is helpful when dealing with a multiplicity of data sources which causes information to accumulate. According to Miles and Huberman (1994:56) “coding is analysis” and is “to review a set of field notes, transcribed or synchronised, and to dissect them meaningfully, while keeping the relations between the parts intact”. “Codes” are used as labels which assign meaning to a section of data collected (Miles and Huberman, 1994). These codes are then applied systematically across a transcript according to their relevance to certain sections of data (Wilkinson, 2004). Organising the data can then involve sections of data with matching codes being brought together. In this study the interviews were coded during the process of transcription. Referring back to Figure Seven, the codes were written under the “Code” column aligned with

the section of data it referred to. The codes used were distinct from each other but semantically close to what they represented (for example "Career " was the code relating to Goffman's concept of career and "Localism" was the code relating to localism) (Miles and Huberman, 1994). However, as Wolcott (2001:34) states, "A well-balanced study can show ample evidence of attention to both the methodical results of analysis and the conjectural tasks of interpretation". Interpretation can begin at any stage during analysis and in the case of this study this began once coding had taken place. Again referring to Figure Seven an "Initial Interpretation" column was included to attempt to begin interpretation during the early stages of analysis. During this initial interpretation very few links to theory were made under the advice of Wolcott (2001:75) who states "hold off introducing theory until it is quite clear what you are interested in theorising about and how that relates directly to what you have to report". These links were therefore made during the final analysis section of the study as Wolcott (2001:76) believes it is in the summation of your work where you "draw upon the work and thinking of others".

The final analysis then took place in the writing up stage of the study where there is the culmination of the early analysis that has taken place alongside a more final integration of the data, the literature and theory. It is within the following chapters, four to seven that the analysis of this study appears in its entirety.

Chapter Four focuses primarily on the local surfer ideal type established in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) and continues to develop the conceptual abstractions associated with this type and add further characteristics to it that were not previously known. This chapter also addresses the other surfing ideal types that emerged from my previous study and adds further understanding to them. In doing so there is a recognition that the types established in my previous study were space and time frame specific and that by extending the time frame, as has been done in this study, this has lead to the establishment of further historical surfing ideal types that no longer exist or have evolved to

form a separate surfing type. This point of inexistence or evolution prompted discussion as to why this occurred and it was determined that during the time frame of this study and in this particular space there were two waves of commercialism that hit the surfing subculture and altered the surfing types within it.

Chapter Five concentrates on the local surfer in particular and uses two concepts, Donnelly and Young's (1999) work on identity construction and confirmation, and Goffman's concept of career. In their work on identity construction, Donnelly and Young outlined what they believe are the three stages of identity construction; presocialisation; selection/recruitment; and socialisation all of which were applied to the local surfer but only two with any relevance. It was felt the third stage, socialisation, did not fully apply to the local surfer highlighting Donnelly and Young's (1999) application to sport rather than to pursuits, which is what surfing is to the local surfer. Following the application of Donnelly and Young's work on identity construction and confirmation, focus turned to Goffman's concept of career. This theoretical tool was used to determine what happened to the local surfer in the later years of their life as there was little or no information on this from any previous study. This concept enabled a mapping out of various stages which appear in the local surfers career and data alluded to a linear progression through these stages.

Chapter Six focuses on the definition of community discussed in Chapter Two. This definition was split into various elements which were then focused upon. In terms of Local Surfers, focus on the element of stable population highlighted the Local Surfers relationship with their local waters and the role this relationship took in keeping the population stable. Discussion on geographical boundaries also revealed the insider/outsider concept which separated Local Surfers from surfers within their local waters and those from beyond. In particular, surfing was also seen as an avenue for social interaction in the village, most noticeably through the East Caradon Surf Club. Finally, a key element of the Local Surfers ideology, their family values, was also seen as

being significant across the Hessiock community. In summary, each element provided insight into the community based in Hessiock and in particular the Local Surfers featured within it. The use of the definition of community and its elements highlighted the role of the Local Surfer within the community suggesting that Hessiock contained a community with a Local Surfer population within it. Evidence also predominantly supported the definition of community put forward.

Chapter Seven discusses some of the more prominent issues the Local Surfers are facing currently including their perception as a fratriarchial group which leads to female exclusion and incidences of localism. When discussing the idea of Local Surfers being viewed as a fratriarchial group, many of the qualities associated with this were deemed to be not strong enough to support such a classification. However, there were significant masculine qualities present and therefore the term brotherhood was deemed to be more accurately descriptive of the Local Surfer. The term brotherhood supported the lack of female Local Surfers and this chapter discusses whether Local Surfer females are excluded from surfing. Rather than an exclusion from the sport it was found that their role differed from the male Local Surfer and took on a more supportive role than participatory. Finally, localism and heavy localism were defined and evidence to support the existence of localism are presented. Further inquiry into its causes and the reasons behind acts of localism are then discussed leading to the belief that although Local Surfers undertake localism, they are not proud or do not wish to brag about being a part of it.

Chapter Four

The Local Surfer

This chapter focuses on the Local Surfer, and focuses on exploring the question presented in Chapter Two: what is the identity of the Local Surfer and how do individuals acquire and maintain this identity?

The Local Surfer: Style and Socialisation

The Local Surfer is an ideal type that was formed in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) constructed through emphasis of the conceptual abstractions ideology and style. Although this study did not choose to focus exclusively on past conceptual abstractions of the Local Surfer, data from this study did nevertheless data from this study do indicate the importance of ideology and style. However, during this study it was proposed that ideology was not appropriate for what was being described and that many of the characteristics of the Local Surfer represented the process of socialisation and therefore this is what is referred to in the remainder of this study. This chapter also adds further detail to the Local Surfer in terms of their characteristics beyond style and socialisation, inadvertently providing further insight into other ideal types and their evolution within the surfing subculture of England.

In terms of style, Wes mentioned his lack of care for fashion but also highlighted that many of his surfer friends avoided surfing DVD's, surfing magazines and surfing clothing as they did not want to be associated with surfing (Wes and Ruth, 02/11/09, 00: 31:03-2). Particularly concerning clothing he notes that;

up until a point they wouldn't wear any labelled clothing like Quiksilver and stuff like that...Loads of guys, Pete, Sam Wiseman,

you know cause you know they didn't want anything to do with cool scene, you know they loved surfing, they loved the sport

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 31: 47-1, 00: 31: 14-4)

This attitude was supported by Billy, the youngest Local Surfer interviewed who stated "I never really wear surfee brands" (Billy Reed, 00:08:02-9). Although Jacob admitted to buying surfing labels, however he followed this by commenting on his dislike for;

particularly massive, mega bright garish type patterns, I used to always quite like the more subtle, you know I don't mind t-shirts with something on the back but I didn't, I liked something, I like, I do like the more sort of subtle clothing

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 13: 26-8)

Ford and Brown (2006) suggest that as a surfer becomes more involved in the surfing lifestyle subcultural signifiers such as surf fashion decreases. This suggests a period of time which can be estimated from the point Local Surfers such as Jacob and Billy became involved in surfing, to the point where they no longer valued surf fashion as they once did before. As neither interviewee identifies at what point they no longer valued surf fashion as they once did before, it is difficult to estimate how long this time period last for. Curiously, when Wes refers back to his two friends he describes them as being "slightly softer now" with Rhona commenting "you look at them now and they're all kitted from it, and head to tail" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 31: 52-8). It is possible then that as the Local Surfers gets older, in contrast to the proposition made by Ford and Brown (2006) that they begin to wear surfing fashion, not because of a renewed interest but due to the feeling that there is no longer a need to actively discourage it in order to assert their authentic surfing identities. It is worth suggesting though that even though they may begin to wear brand names, they will still resist wearing large company logos. This suggests that there is not an outright rejection of brand names but a refinement in taste of surf fashion.

Lanagan (2003) believes that if it once was possible to identify a surfer by their mode of dress, this is now changed due to the widespread sale of surf clothing and its increased popularity as a mainstream fashion style. My previous study (Beaumont, 2007) disagrees as the choice of style by the Local Surfer to not wear brand names and display large company logos was viewed as a reaction to the Wannabe's decision to wear large company brand names and display large logos and therefore sets the two surfing types apart. This reaction by the Local Surfer supports Donnelly and Young's (1999) process of anticipatory socialisation and "rookie error" where attempts are made by new-comers to the sport, in this case the Wannabe, to use visual symbols such as clothing or shoes to support the surfer identity the Wannabe is trying to pursue. The Local Surfer reacts to this rookie error by deliberately choosing to not to wear visual symbols that would associate them with the Wannabe. Further discussion of this rookie error and anticipatory socialisation (Donnelly and Young, 1999) will take place in detail in Chapter Five. In contrast to the evidence above, when Phil was discussing surfing during his younger years he stated;

I had one surfing t-shirt and I used to wear it as much as I could, you know it was great to have some kind of uniform, sort of badge of honour but you know they were expensive you know...they were imported from America so all those kind of things were expensive and you know you didn't own a lot of them

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00:09: 29-8)

Although Phil is never considered to be a Wannabe, and as Wannabe didn't exist at this point in time, this is evidence of visual symbols being used to reflect the identity of a Founding Surfer. The clothes that Phil wore as visual symbols became associated with Founding Surfers and then this became the image the Wannabe's pursued. Similarly to Phil, Jacob also notes;

like early 2000s like umm, surfing just wasn't as main stream as it is now and so if you were wearing a Billabong top much more so than now that did mean that you did surf... whereas now surfing fashion

has become so, so much more mainstream in really quite a short space of time

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 13: 26-8)

Although this could be viewed as a rookie error by Jacob, his belief that the mainstreaming of surfing fashion over a short space of time lead to this rejection of surfing brand names suggests he too rejected these visual symbols once they became associated with people who didn't surf. This is possibly why he bought surfing labels when he first began surfing as he felt, like Phil that it signified that he was a surfer;

when I first started surfing I, I did, I did actually buy quite a few surfing labelled clothes...and it was a conscience decision to, to change you know my image a little bit and change you know what I looked like

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 11: 45-5, 00: 13: 26-8)

There is evidence then from Phil and Jacob that there were times when Local Surfers didn't reject brand names and logos. This can be seen as the first examples showing a difference in the Local Surfer over a time period, highlighting a possible change in the surfing subculture during the 2000's according to Jacob, a point that will be addressed later in this chapter (The Evolution of Historical Surfer Types through Time, Culture and Commercialism).

In terms of socialisation, in my previous work where I saw this as ideology (see Beaumont, 2007) I observed that the Local Surfer was usually taught and encouraged by a member of their family, in particular their father. This observation was repeated in here. For example, Rachel spoke about Children in Hessiock stating "kids who grow up with parents that surf will then get into surfing" and based on her knowledge of families in the village where she considers that in all probability "the father has surfed and so the children grow up surfing" (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). This was also evident from my interview with the youngest participant Billy who on being asked who was the

most influential person in getting him to surf replied “my dad” and during his interview recalled how he had observed surfing because his “dad [had] just done it all his life” (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00:04: 12-4, 00:00: 28-9). Robert (Billy’s dad) even became involved in the interview, and noted when talking to Billy that he would “stand up on my long board and stuff when you were a toddler” (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00:03: 26-7) again showing his influence in getting Billy to surf. Michael also notes the influence of his father in his initial interest and participation in surfing: “My dad umm, started Sealed wetsuits so that’s how I got into [it] really so I’ve been surfing since I was tiny” (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:00: 28-4). The parental perspective on this influence was also in evidence. For example, Wes and Ruth have a son and encourage him to surf with Wes commenting “I just want him to love it as much... as we do (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 38: 31-4, 00: 38: 34-6). However, what is more noticeable in this study than previously anticipated was the Local Surfer “community”. The presence of other experienced Local Surfers teaching and supporting non-experienced Local Surfers. An example of this can be viewed in Billy’s interview when he commented on some experienced Local Surfers;

I knew like loads of them cause most of the surfers around here know are like friends with my dad and they live in the village or round here so I knew most of them anyway so yeah...I think cause I was my dads son...they just wanted to get me better

(Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00:01: 46-2)

The presence of other experienced Local Surfers teaching and supporting non-experienced Local Surfers was especially noticeable in the older participants where their fathers would have not known how to surf. This perhaps highlights once again a generational change in the participants and the surfing subculture as it has gained in popularity as a local practice. Robert’s (1986, cited in Haralambos and Holborn, 1991) takes a pluralist perspective on leisure and notes that social factors such as the social groups to which people belong assist them in choosing which leisure pursuits to engage in. This enables Local Surfers whose father may have not been a surfer to enter the sport through the social

group of other Local Surfers (where previously this would have not been likely or possible). Wes himself is an example of this as although his parents had initially began his interest in surfing by buying him a body board, Phil encouraged Wes further by supplying him with a board, which alongside contact and kit from other experienced Local Surfers such as Michael's father Simon, and Ryan, taught and encouraged Wes into surfing:

you got Phil Cole who was a family friend for years and he is one of the best surfers down there and then, or Ryan Wheel and Simon Howard...they were all sort of family friends as well, so they helped out with kit

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00:19:53-5, 00:19:59-7)

Once Wes became experienced he in turn is noted by others as being influential in teaching and encouraging other non-experienced Local Surfers such as his son but also Michael who noted "I remember going to surf in Waverton with my dad and Wes and that was it, just in the water when we were younger" (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:03:26-6) and Jacob who commented:

the person who was most encouraging was Wes Deacon he was the one who sort of continually hassled me to buy his board... so Wes, Wes definitely would be if I was going to single out one person I'd say that Wes would be the person who was directly responsible for me surfing yeah he just constantly encouraged me and tried to get me into it, it took me quite a few times and just, he knew that I would enjoy it and just sort of, sort of hassled me until I did it.

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00:04:55-3)

The role of family and friends in sports participation is a relationship highlighted by a range of research, particularly that which focusing on child and adolescents identity construction and behaviour patterns. For example, in a study carried out on the sports participation of women aged 15 to 19, Sport England (2006) found that family and friends were considered to be the most important factor influencing participation in sport, regardless of participation level. However, what is more interesting and relevant in relation to this study is

the fact that Seabra *et al* (2008) found that the influence of family and peers remains important for a child and adolescent's development, interest and involvement in sports. More specifically, Seabra *et al* (2008) consider that young family members will grow up to resemble their elders because elders serve as participation models for their children promoting or restricting the sports participation of their young family members. As the data show, these observations are also apparently the case for the novice Local Surfer.

In summary, more experienced or older Local Surfers, whether family or peers, appear to provide participation models for the young or beginner Local Surfers. As they are involved in surfing they promote participation in it to younger members of their family or their peers. This is seen clearly through Wes Deacon and his young son who for many years sat on the beach with Ruth watching Wes surf. Showing progression from this point, Ruth stated;

he loves the water and we take him in the water all the time...you would sit in the beach and sit in the sea for the day wouldn't he quite happily...Actually that would be one of my umm most, what was it last summer, him getting a wave...that's probably one of my like memorable moments now as well.

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 37: 54-8, 00: 38:00-2, 00: 38:04-3, 00: 38:08-5)

Wes even stated that "we went body boarding last weekend down at Polzeath and he was just catching waves in front of me and he loved that" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 38: 28-1). Their role as a participation model could also be viewed as a support network between Local Surfers of a particular location who teach and encourage young and/or non-experienced Local Surfers who then in turn play a role in the future development of other non-experienced Local Surfers. Phil's involvement with Wes who then in turn supported numerous surfers such as Michael, Jacob and his son is an example of this. They are in a sense keeping their type alive by becoming a Local Surfer

participation model, handing down or encouraging other members of their family or community into becoming Local Surfers.

Identification with Local waters

A further ideological point made in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) that began with a practical justification was the Local Surfers relationship with their local waters, initiated by their proximity to them. This was also noted within this study where each interview concerning Local Surfer identity was undertaken with participants who lived or had grown up in Caradon, an area spanning the coast from Waverton to Ringport and a few miles beyond, and heading inland as far as Sheviock, Hollyvale, Polbathic, Hessenford and Widegates. Each Local Surfer had a type of relationship with this stretch of coastline reflects Laurence and Cartier's (2003) theory of "native place". It was apparent from many of the Local Surfers that this area, and in particular the most popular local break, Hessiock held many fond memories for these surfers. Wes illustrates this relationship with the village he grew up in by describing Hessiock as his favourite place to surf because "It's where you feel like you totally belong" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 40:04-1). Many of the Local Surfers interviewed however, also illustrated their relationship with this area through their dislike of outsiders entering what they felt were their waters. Michael gives an example of this with his reaction towards outsiders such as students from Plymouth University surfing there;

If they came down on the reef I think it would be a bit annoying but its so fickle anyway and there's such a small window when its good you've got to know what's going on to be able to surf it

(Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00: 19: 59-6)

This feeling is emulated more strongly by Wes;

The biggest, the biggest problem is the Uni...Cause they turn up with about fifty people...And they all crash at the same spot and like, its ridiculous...The word gets out doesn't it somehow, there's times like, I think it was last year or the year before I surfed, I was in at Waverton and it was, in the days when I was growing up and you'd

get one person other person in there, there was about seventy people in at Waverton...And it just was ridiculous...and it was actually minibus after minibus of Plymouth uni students

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 52: 55-4, 00: 53:08-0, 00: 53:09-7, 00: 53: 27-9, 00: 53: 30-6, 00: 53: 31-2)

The University of Plymouth will typically contain a majority of outsiders to this area and therefore their arrival on mass to Waverton is a potent example of outsiders invading a Local Surfer's native place. Identification with place and community is further illustrated by Jacob who notes

if I go surfing to one of my local breaks here in South East Cornwall I will see people I know in the water and I will chat with people in the water and in that sense its quite nice because you know, you're never, I'm never in the water as a stranger, there's always a good number of people I would know in the water.

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 28: 21-6)

Again, referring to students, Jacob notes the animosity that they generate.

especially at Hessiock in the winter you get a lot of students out there which generally creates a little bit of animosity not animosity but you know like we don't like it the locals and we tend to like it if they go and surf the other peaks and leave the one that we surf alone.

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 31: 12-2)

Even young Local Surfers such as Billy exhibit this relationship with their local waters. Billy sights many of the beach breaks along this stretch of coast line as being his local waters and despite him claiming that experienced outsiders are welcome in his local waters noting "an experienced surfer from anywhere, if they know, like right that's a dangerous bit there and that isn't, then they would be fine" (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 23: 16-7), he has a particular dislike for outsider beginner surfers stating "if they come here and they're not very good, you just going to drop in on them and you just, like, you shouldn't be out here"

(Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 22: 19-4). His view may be influenced by the fact that he as yet is not confident enough to oppose experienced outsiders but feels confident enough to oust outsider beginner surfers noted in the following experience.

Well some guy who I thought was an all right surfer, dropped in on this other guy who thought he was really good, but in actual fact he really wasn't...And he, the guy who thought he was really good just started shouting and swearing at the guy that hadn't done anything wrong so I paddled over and was like right, pretty much... this guy hasn't done anything wrong, because the section closed down behind you and you don't know what you are talking about, so you can be quiet and things like that, and he just got out, the other guy who was starting to have another go and the person who supposedly dropped in on them just got out.

(Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 25: 29-0, 00: 25: 54-0)

This reported "feeling" and the conceptual abstraction of *localism* will be further developed discussion of its presence among Local Surfers will continue in Chapter Seven.

It is however important, at this point in the analysis to try to understand why the Local Surfers feel they have a right or ownership over these waters. Jacob elaborates on his previous point made above admitting that the locals probably haven't got any more right to it but that they feel that they should have stating that it's "quite a common human trait you know its about ownership of land" (Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 33: 55-0) comparing this feeling to the feeling of those that have begun wars over land. In a similar way Phil states that this feeling of ownership is human nature highlighting the Local Surfers right to a finite resource.

I think that you know surfing, resources are finite, there's not, on a given day there's only a certain number of waves that are gonna break and if there are thirty people trying to catch them, it causes a

lot of tension cause some people aren't gonna get waves, umm, and if you, you might just about cope with that if you know those people, if you don't know them, they come from thousands of miles away you, its gonna antagonise you, if there catching waves and your not and you feel like you live there...It's just human nature, you know to some extent I feel the same way about Hessiock, surf there all the time I don't like it when lots of people come over from Plymouth.

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 12: 37-9 and 00: 12: 50-0)

Like Jacob, Phil admits that it's a feeling he's not proud of but it is how he feels.;

I don't, I don't really do anything I just don't really like it. I'm probably not as friendly talking to people who are from, not from the village. Umm and I guess where as I might sit back if I feel I've had quite a few waves and let other people catch them if they live in the village, I probably wont do that for people who've come from Plymouth or I don't recognise, its not, not something I'm proud of but its, you know just how I feel.

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 13: 27-5)

While Laurence and Cartier's (2003) theory of native place can be seen in the Local Surfers through the sense of belonging they hold in particular to Hessiock, perhaps their reaction to outsiders trying to surf in Hessiock suggests a stronger feeling than the mere belonging that also includes a love of place or "topophilia" as Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) would describe it. These Local Surfers have a strong attachment to their local waters that gives them meaning that seems similar to Bale's (1991 and 1993 cited in Bale, 2000) use of the idea of topophilia with football stadiums and football supporters in that these places become places to defend, hence why the Local Surfer feels they must keep outsiders out and why localism occurs. According to Bale (2000) localism, which is evident in surfing (see Fitzjones and Rainger, 1992; Bennett, 1999, 2004; Armomando, 2005; Wade, 2007; Barilotti, 2009) reflects the strength of the sport-place bond. There is a further theory which can be put forward to help understand the Local Surfers relationship with their local waters; Maffesoli (1996, cited in Lanagan,

2003: 175) made the comment “location becomes connection” which Leethal (1999, cited in Lanagan 2003) applied to surfers pointing out that many surfers are only recognised as surfers in a particular place and time, which is the basis of any connection. Outside of this connection between identity and social place the identity of the surfer is often blurred. This is seen in this quote from Wes “even in Polzeath I guess we’re more known now but wherever you go and your not known you have to prove yourself every time” (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 35: 28-8). This shows that having a strong relationship with their local waters might serve to strengthen their identity as a surfer.

To summarise the discussion on the Local Surfer and identity so far, to be a Local Surfer there are a number of identification aspects including; the community (people), place (waves), skill (performance) and fashion (adherence or rejection). These are points that were outlined previously (Beaumont, 2007) and have gone on to be supported by the findings of this study. However this study went beyond the focus of style and socialisation from my previous work, and outlined further identification aspects which will now be presented.

Going Beyond Style and Socialisation

As mentioned previously, this study aimed to develop the understanding of the Local Surfer and go beyond socialisation and style. As such the ideal type of the Local Surfer has been enhanced with a number of further insights and observations. Firstly, there was frequent evidence of Local Surfers using their time-spent surfing in their local waters as a chance to socialise with other Local Surfers. Billy noted that “when you’re out surfing its kind of like your socialising with surfers” (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 18: 28-3). Michael also suggests that there is a social element to surfing for him;

I don’t particularly go with anyone but I would probably send about five, six text messages and say I’m going surfing or know what’s it like or...Umm, pretty much, some people like Will, James, umm, but the you always know there’s going to be people down there anyway, if its good you know there’ll be people there anyway...Yeah, you’d

know everyone in the water, well probably about eighty percent of people in the water at Hessiock, not Waverton as much cause they just come from all over or Widebay

(Michael Howard, 26/10/0900: 13: 55-3, 00: 14:08-8, 00: 14: 24-1)

Wes adds further illustration to the social element of surfing;

It's never been the case that you turn up with hundred of people in a group...Its more like, its a car, like you turn up, you might invite people, like when we were working life guarding, that's probably the time we'd have the biggest crew wouldn't it, cause everyone would be like ah yeah we're going to this spot and then everyone would rock up in different vehicles, that would be the time there'd be the most amount of us communicating on where we were going

(Wes and Ruth, 02/11/09, 00: 50: 42-5, 00: 51:02-0)

Wes would also send text messages at one point until it got too expensive; "well you've stopped doing it so much but what year ago you were a nightmare if Hessiock was good you'd text half of bloody Cornwall and tell me" (Wes and Ruth, 02/11/09, 00: 51: 17-4). However, when commenting on Wes' surfing in Hessiock, Ruth notes that "you know if you go there you're going to see half your mates out in the water as well" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 40:09-6). Jacob can see Hessiock beach from his house and Wes notes "we just rely on James for surf updates" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 51: 32-4) a job Jacob does not seem to mind undertaking as he states:

I'm probably the person who phones, especially in the winter I'll phone up a lot you know my little group of friends and let them know that its cranking because I live there so, because I live in Hessiock I'll be the person that people contact

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 30: 52-9)

Although later in his interview he claims that it is getting harder to bring this group together as he believes "as you get older your life becomes so much busier and stuff and its harder to get time when you're all free at the same

time" (Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 30: 52-9). This is possibly why older Local Surfers such as Phil just go to local waters on their own without prior text or phone arrangement, as he finds "I usually go there on my own and then I'd see people in the water" (Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 18:04-5). This difference between younger Local Surfers such as Michael and older Local Surfers such as Phil highlights how age can alter the experience of being a Local Surfer. This evidence will be discussed further in Chapter Five when focusing on the career of the Local Surfer. The socialising that takes place in local waters also provides an opportunity for new Local Surfers to integrate with existing Local Surfers. For example, Andy is a new Local Surfer to Hessiock and yet through his time spent surfing in local waters, has struck up a friendship with Phil.

I usually go there on my own and then I'd see people in the water. There's a guy called, can't remember his name now, Andy. Yeah, couldn't remember his name. Umm who I've sort of met over the winter and been, cause he does a lot of film work and I'm doing photography so we got quite a lot in common so I've been seeing him a bit umm, yeah mainly him probably if anybody, I see people there.

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 18:04-50, 0: 18: 25-8)

Although this example provides some understanding as to how new surfers to the area integrate with existing Local Surfers, it does raise further questions on the integration of outsiders into a Local Surfer community. This highlights an area for future research which will be outlined further in the conclusion to this study (see chapter nine). When questioned whether new surfers would be welcomed into the existing group of Local Surfers Wes replied that this was definitely possible and jokingly added, "they just have to be really nice" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 40: 47-3). This thought is continued by Michael who believes that new Local Surfers can integrate by being;

Just in the water really and just talking and...Just being around I suppose you know just kind of seeing them in the water or that's it really, just talking in the water just by being there I suppose

(Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00: 15: 40-3, 00: 15: 59-7)

A second observation of the adult Local Surfer is that they are typically self-employed or are in a business that supports their surfing. Out of all the Local Surfers interviewed Phil, Wes and Michael were all self employed (see Figure Three in Methodological Strategy for further information on employment). As a photographer Phil utilised his interest in surfing by taking photographs for magazines and books such as *The Stormrider Guide* (Fitzjones and Rainger, 1992). Similarly, Andy is a surf filmmaker and has produced many successful surf films. Michael works in the surf retail industry as a supplier of surf clothing and equipment. Although Jacob is not self employed his job as a supervisor in the RNLI keeps him close to the beach and more importantly to his local waters. During interviews interviewee's referred to other Local Surfers who were self employed. Michael for example spoke about his father Simon who set up Sealed wetsuits (Michael Howard, 26/10/09) and Wes and Ruth make comment to Daniel who runs a sign making business (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09). Other members of the East Caradon Surf Club encountered during the Cold Water Classic meetings such as Robert, Mitchell and Karl were also self-employed Local Surfers (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09) working in areas such as building and surf and equine retail. Karl in particular commented during a meeting that where he had set up his scaffolding business had given him a great view of the bay and "you can see it coming in" (Cold Water Classic Meeting, 11/11/08). It was only the two female Local Surfers interviewed that were not self employed or had a career which enabled them to surf. In fact both Ruth and Rachel are secondary school teachers at the same school. Looking back at the discussion earlier on their role as supported of their partners, it can be said that this is a further example of their support as they are in a full time secure job and therefore are likely to be supporting their husbands once for example the beach season has finished for Jacob and when there are fewer work opportunities for Wes.

Although some Local Surfers have directly incorporated surfing into their business, many use the flexibility of being self-employed to provide them with

opportunities in which to get involved with surfing either through participation or organisation such as the East Caradon Surf Club. Stanley Parker (1976) argues that people's leisure activities are conditioned by the way they work, with work having a tendency to spill over into leisure (Parker, 1976, cited in Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). The series of interviews he conducted with bank clerks, child care officers and youth employment revealed a relationship between work and leisure which could be categorised as; the extension pattern, the neutrality pattern and the opposition pattern (Parker, 1976, cited in Jarvie and Maguire, 1994:22). In the extension pattern, work extends into leisure with no clear dividing line existing between the two (Parker, 1976, cited in Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). Although Haralambos and Holborn (1991) associate this with high-level autonomy jobs such as business, medicine and teaching the extension pattern can be seen in Phil, Michael, Jacob and Andy. Surfing is central to their work in a sense that it is Phil and Andy's subject, Michael's business and continues Jacob's involvement with the sea and spills over into their leisure time. The neutrality pattern contains a clear distinction between work and leisure although family life and leisure form the central life interest (Parker, 1976, cited in Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). This pattern is associated with jobs with medium to low levels of autonomy such as clerical workers and semiskilled manual workers (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). Family life is a strong feature of many Local Surfers and will be discussed in Chapter Six when focusing on community. Therefore it would be assumed that all of the Local Surfers would have a neutrality pattern. However, the three surfers above are either yet to build a family or their family have grown up and therefore a family doesn't exist or is no longer central to their life interest.

Alongside the fact their work extends into their leisure it can be concluded that they do have an extension pattern. Local Surfers who did have a neutrality pattern however include Wes, Ruth, Karl, Robert and Mitchell. Each of these Local Surfers were part of a family unit and placed this as a central life interest which also meant that surfing became a central life interest as being Local Surfers, surfing has been handed down from one generation to the next. Finally, in

the opposition pattern work is highly distinguishable from leisure and activities in each area are very different (Parker, 1976, cited in Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). The opposition pattern is associated with jobs providing a low degree of autonomy where leisure is used to recuperate from work. This pattern is typically seen in jobs such as unskilled manual labour, mining and distant water fishing. In this study there is no evidence of any Local Surfers having an opposition pattern. This could be because Parker (1976, cited in Jarvie and Maguire, 1994) emphasises the influence leisure has on work. Haralambos and Holborn (1991) note however that many sociologists now believe that increasingly rather than work influencing leisure, leisure influences work. They cite the work of Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1968,1969 cited in Haralambos and Holborn, 1991) who discovered that many affluent workers selected and defined their work in terms of non-work concerns, and also the work of Joffre Dumazedier (1967, also cited in Haralambos and Holborn, 1991) who noted that young people consider the hours they will have to work in terms of their leisure requirements. Although many of the Local Surfers could not be described as affluent or even young it is visible that many of them choose self-employment to enable them to have the flexibility to go surfing as surfing is not a sport that can be planned or organised as such. Apart from in Jacob case, all of the surfers interviewed began surfing before they had begun working and therefore when it came to choosing a career it was highly likely that their choice of leisure influenced their career decision.

A further emergent observation is that through being self-employed, the Local Surfer then tends to become involved in a network of mutually supportive business relations local in order to support other Local Surfers. For example, when Jacob was getting into surfing and becoming a Local Surfer, existing Local Surfer Wes was able to help and support a local business;

he helped me to get, he got me, put me in contact with Simon Howard who I bought my first wetsuit off, an old Sealed wetsuit well it was a new one at the time but umm, yeah

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00:04: 55-3)

Martin also mentions supporting a local business;

I know Steve Daniels from excel from years and thousands, I used to buy my surf boards off him...Years and years ago, umm, when I had hair I mean it's that long ago...and he really enjoyed what we're trying to do

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 25: 24-3, 00: 25: 29-5, 00: 25: 34-2)

This in turn lead Steve Daniels to support the local community as according to Tanya "we now had excel wetsuits as a sponsor for prizes which is relevant to our club" (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 25: 18-2). Billy also undertook his work experience with Michael becoming involved in the business and is now an ardent supporter of it stating that "its just really good stuff, product...[and] the quality is really good (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 12: 53-5, 00: 12: 55-1). As Local Surfers continually support each other financially this then further increases the bond and loyalty found between Local Surfers and group cohesion is apparent.

The Local Surfers self-employment alongside their relationship with local waters however is what also separates them from other surfing types such as the Wannabe, and their dislike toward the Wannabe can be viewed as a point in common. Even since Wes started to surf he notes there has been a change in participant numbers, particularly in the amount of non-experienced surfers such as the Wannabe who "get in the way...and it gets to the stage where it gets dangerous in the summer really doesn't it, and people don't know what their doing and that's the other thing" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 22: 58-1, 00: 23: 12-8). Rachel believes that there has been increased participation of children; put down to its increased popularity and the attitude that surfing "is perceived as being a "cool thing to do" (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). The increased time period considered by this study has highlighted the increase in surfer numbers, particularly the non-experienced Wannabe. The increase in the number of Wannabes and the crowding effect this has is discussed further later in this chapter under the subheading Other Surfing Types.

In my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) I observed that the Local Surfer was opposed to the Wannabe principally because the population increase of surfers caused by the Wannabe has led to over crowding at local surf breaks, thus limiting the freedom and aggravating the Local Surfer. An example of crowding at surf breaks can be seen below in Eight. Yi Fu Tuan (1977) considers crowding and notes that a sense of crowding can appear under a high variety of conditions and on different scales mostly depending on the culture of the people in question. It has already been stated how strong the Local Surfers relationship is with their local waters and therefore how protective the Local Surfer becomes. This produces a very isolated inaccessible culture and therefore the conditions for crowding will be apparent and crowding can occur on the intrusion of one person from another culture. Tuan (1977) notes that “we appreciate the company of our own kind” which gives reason to why a Local Surfer is more than happy to surf among other Local Surfers but why the Local Surfer is not thankful for the increased presence of the Wannabe. A final point that Tuan (1977: 64) makes which further adds to understanding why the Local Surfer feels crowded is that “conflicting activities generate a sense of crowding”. An example of crowding involving surfing can be seen in the pictures shown in figure two. Even though both the Local Surfer and Wannabe will be participating in surfing, their intentions are completely different which leads to them undertaking conflicting activities. The Wannabe will be prioritising their intention to express an identity through their surfing alongside other intentions such as trying to improve their surfing. The Local Surfer however will be prioritising the intention that surfing is a social activity in order to defend their local waters, alongside other intentions such as attempting to improve their ability. It is this conflict in activities that leads the Local Surfer to feel that their local waters are crowded when in another situation with a similar amount of Local Surfers they may not feel crowded at all. However, there was a time when the Local Surfers like Phil didn’t have a sense of feeling crowded yet in his time as a Local Surfer he has seen experienced surfers give up because of the crowds; “I know a lot of people who have stopped. A guy

called Bernie Mayson in Torpoint was a great surfer, used to surf round here. He gave up because of the crowds". (Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 23: 42-1) which alludes to a change occurring in the surfing subculture.

Figure Eight.



(girlsurf.net, 2009)



(Davey and Davey, 2008)

It can be suggested then that the Local Surfers dislike of the Wannabe is a direct reflection of their dislike for commercialism. Evidence of this has already been presented above when discussing the style choices of the Local Surfer who rejected large company brand names and stayed away from displaying large logos. However it was noted in this study that the Local Surfer took this rejection of the commercialised surfer image further by trying not to enter into conversations about surfing. When commenting on Sam, Wes and Ruth noted that;

Sam Wiseman at work, if he tells people he's a surfer and they want to try and talk to him about it he just wont talk to them about it...Yeah, I think he got sick of people just beginning coming up and saying yeah I was in the water the other day I got a really good barrel, and you get a lot of that if you say to anybody you're a surfer everybody jumps on it don't they

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 32: 36-0, 00: 32: 52-9)

It can presumed that these incidents took part with a Wannabe as on being asked whether they would have a conversation with a more experienced surfer when approached in the same manner Wes replied "definitely" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 33: 31-1). However, Wes put another idea forward. "Is it

kind of like a hierarchy thing that you think because they're not sort of good as you that you shouldn't be actually talking to them about it" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 33: 49-9). Again, commenting on Sam, Wes gave an example to support his theory stating;

if it was someone really good talking to him about it yeah he's totally into it and would talk to the cows come home about it whereas if its somebody who he thinks is a bit of a kook and not really a very good surfer he totally wont even acknowledge them

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 34:05-3)

Although this Wes' idea of a hierarchy stands up with evidence showing that the Local Surfers will not deal with non-experienced Wannabe surfers. It has already been illustrated that the Local Surfer supports and nurtures non-experienced Local Surfers around them. Therefore it can be determined that this attitude only exists towards the Wannabe and therefore again, is a direct reflection of the Local Surfers dislike for commercialism and outsiders.

Such a view is consistent with Clarke and Critcher's (1985) Neo Marxist view that the most important aspect of leisure is its commercialisation. With leisure being an important source of profit for the bourgeoisie, companies have the power to persuade consumers of their leisure needs and this is how the Wannabe was born and why the Local Surfer is in direct opposition to this surfing type and also commercialisation itself. Moreover outside of their relationship with the Wannabe, the Local Surfer continues to exhibit characteristics of their dislike for commercialism. As Coakley (2001) states, commercialism influences changes in the orientations of people involved in sports and in the case of the Local Surfer it appears to coax a negative reaction which ultimately involves the Local Surfers rejection of commercialisation and anyone motivated by or through it. Such a view would be consistent with Arthur (2003) who states, surfing is a sub group which at times has been portrayed as being anti-commercial. Rothwell (2000 cited in Arthur, 2003: 164) is more specific, noting that although commercialism may have been accepted

in the past when it brought high drama and higher standards of play, commercialism is now regarded and resented as an “uncontrolled juggernaut...[and] unwelcome”. This study suggests that commercialism is typically supported by surfing types such as the Wannabe and the Professional Surfer. However, the Local Surfer and what remains of the Soul Surfer still remain in opposition to its effect on the surfing subculture as a whole. Further discussion into commercialisation in the surfing subculture continues later in this chapter.

The Local Surfer and Surfing: Sport or Pursuit

Surfing as a sport and surfing as a pursuit was presented and discussed in Chapter Two. It is at this point that the Local Surfers experience of surfing is focused upon and a conclusion drawn as to whether they experience surfing as a sport or pursuit. Sport is characterised by a competitive element which places itself in opposition to the Local Surfer who has little or no involvement with competition. However, this is not so typical of the younger, new generation Local Surfers who show an interest in competition, an area that is explored more widely in Chapter Five. In short, young Local Surfers like Billy mentioned that competitions for him were a turning point in surfing for him, showing the competitive professional attitude he has towards surfing.

my first contest...When I first like started to get into surfing like a lot more, and like being going from a beginner kind of thing to like more experienced

(Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00:08: 20-9, 00:08: 34-8)

This is in contrast to Local Surfers older than Billy, of the generation above him, who are in direct contrast to his approach and note the difference in generation.

You know everyone, its just a bit, I mean surfing to me is fun, I don't take it seriously, I don't go right ok, you know the kids now they look at it and go, they're so critical about themselves they go I need to do X number of things on a wave or I need to do this but I literally go out and just have a laugh...I think the sports come on a bit, you

know its classified as a sport now more than before it was just like you surfed, you know it was more kind of a fun kind of thing I suppose and you can see that with like you know my generation of surfers like Wes, Jacob, we just do it for fun really I think, whereas Elliot Slade the young lad he does a lot of contests and he always concentrating on getting filmed by his dad and all that kind of thing, we just did it for a bit of a laugh.

(Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:07: 36-0, 00:08:07-9)

Michael notes the impact surfing the sport has had on a surfing type which has long held surfing as a pursuit. It is possible that surfing the sport will continue to affect the Local Surfer and will evolve this type just as it has evolved from types prior to it. This provides an area for future research which will be presented in the conclusion (Chapter Eight). Alongside this notion, when this competitive generation are discussed in further detail during Chapter Five: The Local Surfer; Identity Construction and Career, it is suggested that this competitive generation is strong evidence of a new stage in the Local Surfers career that did not previously exist when other Local Surfers were developing through the stages in a more linear manner.

The Identity of the Local Surfer's Home

An introduction to the setting of the study was given when discussing this studies methodological strategy however this section looks at the identity of the setting giving insight into the home of the Local Surfer. The setting for this study was predominantly Hessiock, however some data was collected from outside the village and therefore the setting was seen broadly as being part of the district of Caradon which most people would associate as South East Cornwall. Within this section there will be a focus on the identity according to residents within it of firstly South East Cornwall and secondly Hessiock. This will be done by referring to the concept of place presented in the literature review. There will then be a final look to see how influential surfing or any other leisure activity has been in the creation of an identity for the village.

All of the interviewee's living within South East Cornwall can be described as insiders, a concept discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. Some of these insiders were asked a number of questions on the identity of the setting and their viewpoints on South East Cornwall. A fairly recent insider to South East Cornwall and a Local Surfer, Rachel felt that when describing South East Cornwall she would focus on tourism and stated that it's not a particularly tourist area as people would bypass it to go further into Cornwall. This lead her on to say that "It's often referred to as the forgotten...corner of Cornwall" (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). As Rachel was so recently an outsider to the area she also gave an insight into what they might think of the area.

I don't think they know that much about it. If they know anything they'll either think of Widebay or Maidy cos usually that's the two points of reference that they know, so I'll...I'll say it's a little fishing village between Widebay and Maidy cos there the two areas that they know. Whitsand bay being a nice beach which many people from Plymouth go to, and Maidy being a pretty touristy fishing town, so I guess that's what...probably what they think of, it's got a couple of nice beaches but they're not easy to get to and it's got a couple of nice fishing villages that people might go to for a little walk around or an ice cream in the summer

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

She believed that outsiders would not know much about Hessiock, however, Widebay and Maidy, both areas of tourism nearby, may well be known. Tourism then according to Rachel makes a difference as to whether an outsider will know of a particular place or area in Cornwall. On asking other insiders whether they felt that Hessiock was typical of South East Cornwall they also made reference to tourism. Anne, although not a Local Surfer, felt that "I think this is a little special hidden away, not a lot of tourists come here" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:08: 57-7). Anne's love for Hessiock which will be discussed shortly can be viewed as being because it

is not touristy as when commenting on Maidy, a village not far from Hessiock she stated "I really don't like Maidy cause its touristy and there's tack everywhere and this isn't tacky" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:09: 11-5).

Tourism and Cornwall are synonymously linked and since the recession in the UK, its popularity has increased as a tourist destination among people within the UK and in 2009 it won best UK holiday destination at the British Travel Awards. Tourism then is viewed as being central to the identity of Cornwall. As tourism is so important in the identity of Cornwall, villages like Hessiock within it will be associated with this identity. However because, as Rachel states, South East Cornwall is the forgotten corner of Cornwall, its identity is viewed as a failing in tourism. This can be seen as evidence as to why Hessiock has a significant population of Local Surfers and why they differentiate it from its surrounding areas. As discussed above, the Local Surfer struggles with the commercialisation of surfing and therefore tourism, a hub of commercialisation will be seen in the same light causing them to reside in a location away from its draw.

Focus will now be on the identity of Hessiock from a Local Surfer insider's perspective. Most Local Surfer interviewees had a relationship with Hessiock that classified them as insiders including people that lived there at present and people that lived there at some point in their lives. Many of the insiders interviewed held strong feelings for Hessiock which shone through their description of the village. Again, although not a Local Surfer, Anne describes Hessiock as "a beautiful little fishing village...with panoramic views of the sea" then continues with her affectionate description "I think its magical place really, the sea and the beach" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas, Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:06: 31-3). Her brother David agrees and states, "Quaint umm, go for your beautiful as well can't really add much more than that really" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas, Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:07: 44-2). Tara and Andy, both Local Surfers also agree even in their short time of living in the village:

Andy: For the first, from April to June I'd have described it as Barbados it was so warm

Tara: It was beautiful

(Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00: 11:00-0, 00: 11:00-3)

Similarly, Jacob a long term resident and Local Surfer stated "I think people think obviously it's a beautiful place to live, its very picturesque" (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). Martin adds context to his description stating that "to me its like an oasis" (Martin and Tanya Heel, 09/08/09, 00:03: 15-1). It is only Wes who really plays down the identity of Hessiock and on being asked what his feelings towards Hessiock were replied: "Yeah, its a nice place" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00:02: 59-2), seen as possible reaction to moving outside of the village in the last couple of years. One interviewee in particular gave great depth to the identity of Hessiock from an insider's perspective as Reg had deep roots within Hessiock and gave a potted history of the village throughout his interview showing his love and innate interest in the area.

The descriptions of Hessiock from insiders show emotion and attachment to the village and in many cases highlight Laurence and Cartier's (2003) concept of native place. Although they applied this concept to transmigrants, it was speculated in the literature review that this concept could be applied to people who have always lived in an area. However, a point which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five, is the fact that many of the interviewees who expressed these feelings towards Hessiock had in fact spent sometime living away from the village. Laurence and Cartier (2003: 10) describe a native place as "a deep wellspring of lasting memories that cannot be easily erased" being the quintessence of place and lasting home. The descriptions put forward by many of the interviewees evoke feelings of a quintessence of place although in the remainder of many interviews there was also evidence of lasting memories and lasting home however these are better discussed in the following chapter. Quintessence of place however is more relevant at this stage as on directly questioning insiders on the identity of Hessiock, they replied with definitions

that evoked the quintessence of place and therefore this can be viewed as the most important element of Hessiock's identity to the Local Surfers within the village.

Many of the Local Surfer insider's descriptions of Hessiock also contained comments in two particular areas, amenities and community. Focusing on the amenities of the village, Tara noted

I don't know if contained is the right word but you don't need, like you, like he had a really bad back so hasn't been able to drive or go anywhere but hasn't really needed to cause you've got a post office and a shop and he's got the sea and he's got a pub and you've got a cafe. You've kind of got all the basics that you need so you don't really need to leave, I haven't felt the need to leave in a week, its been quite nice (Laughs), so I don't know if contained is the right word but its kind of what I'm thinking.

(Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00: 11: 53-4)

Anne also describes Hessiock by its amenities: "there's a shop, there's a restaurant now, a nice pub and so its got everything that I need" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas, Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:06: 31-3). Finally Rachel also notes "you got the pub, the post office, the café, the little shop" when describing Hessiock (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). Alongside amenities, community was also mentioned frequently when Local Surfers defined Hessiock. Rachel noted that "it's a proper community...it's just got that community feel" (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). Mark and David both stated:

Matt: It's got community

Piers: It's got community

(Anne Thomas, David Thomas, Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:06: 33-8,
00:06: 35-7)

Finally Jacob noted "It is a really nice place to live obviously, umm, nice sense of community" (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). Other points which weren't so

frequently mentioned during the Local Surfers description of Hessiock included crime, and ambience. Both Jacob and Mark mentioned that there was not much crime in the area, Mark in particular stating that “you can leave your doors unlocked at night” and “you can leave your Ipod on your dashboard in your car” (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:06: 52-1 and 00:07:00-5). Ambience was a characteristic noted by Andy who noted “there’s something, I couldn’t say tropical, but there’s something about here that you don’t get in a lot...I don’t know how to describe it, it’s not tropical it just feels slightly different to, it doesn’t always feel like Britain” (Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00: 12: 32-1).

The topic of identity and place is relevant in the insiders’ description and therefore the identity of Hessiock, a home of the Local Surfer. To reiterate from the literature review, identity can be formed through geographic icons in a place that possess symbolic attributes which become significant to people evoking emotion, sentiments, and a longing to be in a particular location (Babacan, 2005). In many cases the geographic icons in question do not seem emotive enough to be significant to insiders. However, amenities such as the pub, the post office, the café, the shop and the restaurant were highlighted because according to interviewees it was everything they needed in a place and were significant to them as they help form community within the village through common interests and unifying traits and social interaction, a point which will be further discussed in Chapter Five. A second point made by Laurence and Cartier’s (2003) which ties in with the notion of community expressed by so many insiders is that place is a social incubator that contains the basic ingredients for social networking thus binding individual residents together and transforming them into co-villagers, neighbours and friends. This positive relationship between individuals in a village is built through having a shared experience, local culture, family ties, home, landed property, social clubs and schools. Community then is another element which help forms the identity of Hessiock according to insiders and a point which is focused upon in detail in the following chapter.

In comparison to the insiders perspective, the outsiders perspective on Hessiock, the Local Surfer's home is distinctly different. Ruth is still an outsider to Hessiock despite marrying a previous resident and some other interviewees such as Rachel, Andy and Tara had all recently become insiders to the village at the time of data collection and therefore could offer some insight into what outsiders would think of Hessiock. Each of them however provided a contrasting view as to what opinions outsiders have on Hessiock. For example, even though her husband described it as a nice place to live, Ruth responded by stating "It's not so nice, as in nice beach or the people" and later stating the beach in reality isn't that nice compared to other beaches (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/110/09, 00:03: 12-9, 00:04: 33-9). On the other hand, when Andy and Tara were outsiders, they believed that Hessiock would have been a haven for second home owners:

Andy: I didn't, I thought there would, I didn't think there would be as many people living here umm full time, yeah I thought there would be more holiday homes than there are, second homes...and I also didn't realise the range of people that would live here, the sort of uh, so like for instance John over the road there whose a sort of digital media guy, graphic designer, does loads of stuff, works three days in London, you know and I didn't expect that, I just, I don't know I didn't expect quite the diverse sort of

Tara: Yeah I think I expected more older people (Laughs)

Andy: More, I did actually

(Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00:08: 35-9, 00:09:01-9, 00:09:04-1, 00:09:05-0)

Andy and Tara say that they reached these conclusions as outsiders from driving through the village and not "pay[ing] much attention to it so you...just kind of see it as a holiday town" (Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00:09: 25-5). Rachel however believe that most outsiders would have never heard of Hessiock and admitted "I know if I'm honest, before I met my husband I hadn't

heard of it, and I live like twenty minutes away" (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). However the difference in these outsiders opinion is the change that occurs on becoming an insider. For Rachel, Andy and Tara their opinion of Hessiock dramatically changes and is witnessed above in their descriptions of the village. Ruth however, who has continued to remain an outsider despite being a frequent visitor to the village never changes her opinion on Hessiock and therefore this could lead to some insight as to why Hessiock in particular does not receive many second home owners a point which may of the interviewees mentioned during interview. Andy for example states "I thought there would be more holiday homes than there are, second homes" (Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00:08: 35-9). Jacob also agrees with this and notes that Hessiock "hasn't suffered too badly from second home ownership" (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09, time unknown). Finally "there's not that many second homes which is quite rare as well" (Steve Toot, 09/08/09, 00:01: 59-0). The conclusion that Hessiock does not have many second homes can be seen as a result to the outsiders" opinion of the village. Their opinion would be similar to that of Ruth, Rachel, Andy and Tara's outsider opinions and therefore would not attract them to the village, discouraging from buying a second home within it.

Looking at issues of identity of the setting, time was taken to determine whether surfing had in any way created an identity for Hessiock. In the case of Hessiock, its position by the sea and the ability to surf the reef break had created an identity for the village that attracted people to live there. Jacob noted this when stating "there's definitely a few people who've moved into the village who surf and who have moved there because it is by the sea" (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09, time unknown). Rachel indicates that the popularity of the pursuit and the interest in it which is spread across all generations in the village also goes someway in creating an identity for Hessiock. However, on moving to the area as a surfer and choosing a village to live in Martin bypassed Hessiock initially to look at Ringport because as he states "obviously I looked at Ringport first being a surfer" (Martin and Tanya Heel, 09/08/09, 00:02:03-4). Therefore

despite being associated with surfing it is possible to suggest that surfing is not yet strong enough in Hessiock for it to form or be part of the identity of the village. In the county of Cornwall and in nearby Devon, there are other more “notorious” or popular surfing locations which are directly associated with surfing, such as Newquay, and therefore for a village like Hessiock it is difficult to compete with such a strong sense of identity so nearby.

The Local Surfer Family and Gender Differences

When I developed the ideal type of the Local Surfer, I assumed that conceptually and experientially it would be similar or the same for both male and females. However, although many characteristics are similar such as their united support for new Local Surfers, their proximity to the sea, and their support of all things local, -hence why female Local Surfers are still viewed as this type- this study has encountered definite observable experiential differences between the male and female Local Surfer that warrant documenting at this point. There were two female Local Surfers interviewed during this study; Ruth and Rachel. It must be noted that they were both married to Local Surfers and in Ruth’s case, also had a child from this marriage. Therefore this study is only in a position to comment upon female Local Surfers in this position and not with unmarried female Local Surfers. This then exposes an area for future research, as this study did not encounter any unmarried female Local Surfers, in particular none that had been a Local Surfer from the beginning of their surfing career. This point will be reiterated within the concluding chapter of the study. Although both began surfing as other surfer types, Ruth as an Organised Surfer and Rachel as a Wannabe, it was their relationship and marriage to Local Surfers that developed them into Local Surfers, however with a very distinct gender difference. Firstly, these married female Local Surfers tend to surf less frequently than the male but will however still go along on surfing trips with them to observe and support their partner. For example Rachel and Ruth would go on a surfing trips with their husbands but Rachel stated “I’ll take a book or I’ll go for a walk and I’ll bring along a flask of hot chocolate for afterwards” (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09) and Ruth said

that she would “sit on the beach and watch and take photos” (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 48: 12-8) with Wes commenting “it’s still a family day” (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 48: 49-6). This is perceived as a common event within the family. Rachel however does state that “a lot of girlfriends won’t, don’t go with their partner, a lot of guys leave the girlfriend at home or the wife at home and go off and surf but I like to still be involved in it” (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09, time unknown). However, in doing this Rachel gives up many of the things she would like to do. For example she wanted to hold dinner parties with friends but “knew Jacob would not be happy to give up surf to sit around a dinner table” (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09). Even though they illustrate this differently to the male Local Surfer, going to the beach with their partner, or allowing them to go alone at the expense of doing something together is the female Local Surfers way of supporting another Local Surfer, be it their partner or child, to continue to surf. This makes the (married with children) female Local Surfer very similar to the golfing widow who is a woman whose husband frequently leaves her alone while he plays golf (dictionary.reference.com, 2010b). A major difference however between the golfing widow and the Local Surfer however is the fact that surfing can be impromptu, whereas the majority of the time you can and have to plan when and where a game of golf will take place. When the first interview was conducted with Rachel, she received a call just after from Jacob stating that he was going for a surf on the North Coast and would be back later for a local community party (Field Notes, 13/06/09). Rachel was unaware this was going to happen and Jacob did not return until ten that night. Also, whether the female stays at home or comes on the surfing trip to observe their partner another difference between the male and female is their lack of participation in surfing as Rachel states;

I haven’t really been doing it regularly for a couple of years. I was kind of, at one point I was going in every two weeks and then, like for the summer, and then different things kind of took over, weddings, (Laughs) stuff like that, and so I kind of did it when I had the opportunity, it wasn’t a regular thing”

(Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09)

Unlike Rachel, Ruth was a very competent surfer however now doesn't participate in surfing regularly either. She reasons this with being;

pregnant pretty much non-stop now for three and a half years and then not, maybe losing my confidence a bit and not being in the same shape I used to be like, if it's bigger than three foot then I'm just sort of like, I'm going to get back so you go in

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 47: 55-0)

Being a mother is one of the main reasons Ruth's participation in surfing has decreased and this is true for other female Local Surfers. Rachel noticed that;

in some families as far as I've perceived I've never known, like with one family, I've never known the mother to go in the water, but with the other family, the mother will take the kids to the beach as much as the dad will...and she'll go in the water with them, with her body board

(Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09)

For Phil, surfing never changed for him once his children were born;

I could still get in the water quite a bit umm, my wife didn't work so she looked after the children, so a lot of the parental duties which I probably would have had to have done if she'd worked I was excused from, so I did manage to surf quite a bit

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 17:05-8)

Other male Local Surfers such as Michael and Jacob feel that this will also be the same for them. Michael comments "I don't think it would change too much" (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00: 12:02-1) and Jacob states "I don't really perceive that it would change too massively" as "I'm sure that my wife would be flexible to allow, let me go surfing" (Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 24: 50-0).

The above data are strongly the gendered patterning of leisure activities. As Rojek (1995: 29) notes, "children cut into women's leisure space and time more

sharply than into the leisure space and time of men” with childcare dominating the life of mothers because of social pressures for them to do so. As Rojek (1995) alludes, the unequal division of domestic labour and childcare is not specific to surfing and occurs in other sports as Thompson (1999) noted in her work on Tennis. Thompson (1999) noted that there were gendered division of labour in the home and on reflection of Finch’s (1983 cited in Thompson, 1999) work on clergymen, doctor’s, policeman, academics, diplomats and railway signal operators which suggested that a man’s work both structured his wife’s life and elicited her contribution to it, concluded that this could be said of a man’s leisure pursuit. In her work on Tennis players, Thompson’s subject Anthea worked the same hours as her husband yet took on domestic work in their home in order to support her husband’s participation in tennis. Similarly, Spowart *et al* (2010:1189) note that “Despite the power of dominant discourses of motherhood, leisure studies researchers have argued that women can and do resist to actively create time out for themselves”. The female Local Surfers can also be seen as taking responsibility for the childcare and domestic labour, freeing up the male Local Surfer, enabling him to continue surfing, supported by their partner. Thompson (1999) noted that many women were happy with this decision to support their partner because they were involved in the sport themselves, however those that were not happy were those that weren’t involved in the sport. Focusing only on women that do participate in their partner’s sport, this suggestion by Thompson is not visible in this study. Both Ruth and Rachel if not regularly or at present are and have been involved in surfing and although Rachel is happy supporting her husband to some extent by accompanying him on his surf trips and giving up her dinner parties, she will sometimes decline the opportunity to go with him stating “sometimes it is nice to be freed up and go and see my family, or friends, or to do something that I want to do” (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09). Ruth also made suggestions that she was not always happy to loose out on time together with her husband when she noted that even though she went with him on his surf trips and described them as a family day, she agreed that it wasn’t spent together as she commented “I’m like if you go in, we’d always wrap up sit on the beach and

watch" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 48: 44-4) and Ruth then went on to state disparagingly that it "was a bit like our honeymoon" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 48: 54-3). Therefore although the female Local Surfer is willing to support their partner so they can surf, they are not always happy to do so which could in some ways be seen to contradict Thompson's (1999) view that sharing an interest in a particular sport contributed to a successful marriage. To summarise, the female Local Surfer encompasses the Local Surfer conceptual abstractions of supporting other Local Surfers through the support of their partner but perhaps in the shadows and not always willingly as many Local Surfers in this study attributed help and support to the male Local Surfers around them and with no mention of any female Local Surfers. Discussion on women's involvement in surfing with particular emphasis on surfing patriarchies and female exclusion from participation is returned to in Chapter Six.

Other Surfing Types

Although this study is focused on the Local Surfer, many other surfing types were contacted during data collection and as such these also warrant further clarification at this point, as their presence (even as imaginaries) can help us to better understand how the Local Surfer type is to an extent defined by other types of surfers.

Contact was made with the Wannabe surfer throughout this study, primarily with Local Surfers that were once a wannabe. The Wannabe can be seen as any surfer who has a "preoccupation with the fashion and group identity aspects of surf culture (Ford and Brown, 2006: 76) yet doesn't actually participate frequently and too a high standard in surfing itself. The BBC website (2007) captures the essence of the Wannabe as "someone who wants to be a surfer, wears the clothes and talks the talk but can't surf". Rachel started surfing as a Wannabe and this is seen through her relationship with clothing. On moving back to Plymouth after university she noted;

I came home there's a lot more surfing shops here and I realised I really like the clothing in the surfing shops so I started to just, if I was gonna spend some money and get something nice then I'd get something from there instead so I don't think I changed my wardrobe completely in one go, but I think I did start buying more surfing labels and less high, other high street labels.

(Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09)

These surfing labels included brand names such as Quiksilver, Roxy, Billabong and O'Neill before she even began surfing (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09). Ruth, also from Plymouth describes how when she started to surf, began wearing branded surfing clothing; I think it was like Billabong, Quiksilver and Ripcurl like they were the three main ones around (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 29: 29-4) noting that "I probably before would not have worn surfing clothing, not the brands but then started to wear the brands yeah" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 28: 54-9). The Wannabes coveting of surf clothing also spreads to equipment as Rachel also notes that at the point when she first began surfing she was asked to look after a surfboard by a friend. She describes feeling "really chuffed to be looking after a surf board" with feelings of excitement as she began to get involved in a culture that was new to her (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09). Another characteristic observed is that Wannabes tended to "name drop" locations strongly related to surfing. "Name dropping" is another tool used by Wannabes to promote their image as a surfer. Although other surfing types will converse about their travelling experiences, it is the unsubtle use of "name dropping" by the Wannabe which creates a difference. Rachel did this frequently in her interview, and although she is now considered a Local Surfer, this perhaps alluded to a possible Wannabe past. Locations such as Sri Lanka, New Zealand, France and South Africa were mentioned throughout her interview in relation to surfing. For example, on being asked how often did she go surfing when she first, Rachel went on to talk about her surf trip to France, "name dropping" the location frequently; "then I went to France, I surfed a lot when I was in France, like every day for about a month, I surfed when I went on holiday to France" (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09).

Rachel also used the opportunity of being asked what were the most important events to her since she began surfing to “name drop” her travelling;

Umm, since I started, well probably the trips that I have done like the trip to France was umm a significant event because it was going somewhere new, it was surfing in warmer waters for the first time, surfing in a bikini, that was significant umm and then going to Sri Lanka was significant because again it was another step, it was warm waters which I love, but it was also kind of progressing a little bit more which is good for me, and so those trips were probably the most significant events.

(Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09)

Numerically the Wannabe is still probably a predominant type in the surfing subculture today and the existence of the Wannabe is important sign of “other” for the Local Surfer, someone against whom they seem to define themselves.

There was very little interaction with the *Sponsored Surfer* during this study and although data was received on this type from Local Surfers, without investigating Sponsored Surfers through interaction with them, few conclusions cannot be drawn on this type. However, as will be outlined further in the next chapter, there Billy did indicate he was taking a more professional approach to his surfing through his attendance and the national surf schools championship and his entry into the Cold Water Classic competition (Cold Water Classic Meeting, 11/11/08). Reviewing this limited data cannot lead to any further conclusions on the characteristics of the Sponsored surfer however there is evidence to suggest that a name change to the *Professional Surfer* would be appropriate previous work (Beaumont, 2007) coupled with the data about indicate that this type is more concerned with the quest and pursuit to become a Professional rather than actually being sponsored, therefore the term *Professional Surfer* may be more appropriate. In the remainder of this study the Sponsored Surfer will be referred to as the Professional Surfer.

Finally there was little contact with any *Soul Surfers* during this study. As Battrick comments in Wade (2007: 143) "Surfing is losing its soul" and it's possible to suggest the demise of this surfing type. Booth (1996) even suggests soul surfing declined in the late 1970s and died out not long after. However, it is also possible to suggest that there has been an evolution of the Soul Surfer into other types. Although many of their characteristics stand in stark contrast to the Soul Surfers that provided examples for this surfing type, the new breed of Christian Surfers have very similar reasons for wanting to participate in this sport. The original Soul Surfers emphasised the values of spirituality, aesthetics and the quest for inner peace and authenticity (Beaumont, 2007; Ford and Brown, 2006), reflected in what Hollinger describes as the Soul Surfers' "ability to communicate so personally and intensely with his God" (1975 cited in Booth, 2004: 97). Similarly, Christian Surfers write on their website "those of us who surf know that there is a spiritual dimension to surfing and are determined to share it." (Christian Surfers, 2010). Rachel is a member of Christian Surfers and attributes them to her beginning to surf. She supported the statements made by Christian Surfers on their website during her interview saying people go for surf and try and build friendships and help people and show God's love to people in the water by the way they surf" (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09). However, unlike the original Soul Surfers who never stated which or how many gods they believed in (this was very much a personal choice) the Christian Surfer believes in a Christian god and views surfing as a way of getting to know their god. Through their spirituality and relationship with the water the Christian Surfer is similar to the original Soul Surfer and can be considered an evolution of this type. In contrast however, the original Soul Surfer in particular disliked elements of commercialisation, competition and hype (Holmes, 1991). Hollinger (1975, cited in Booth, 2004), a Soul Surfer himself, depicts this hatred for competition in particular when describing it as an octopus that sucks you down and the entrants as becoming "virtual prostitutes" (Booth, 2004: 97). Although Christian Surfers deny serving the sport of surfing through selfish ambition (Christian Surfers, 2010) they are involved with many competitions and even run an annual competition of their own, the Jesus Surf classic, which

in 2010 is in its eighteenth year and is what they describe as an one of the largest and most established contests in the UK (Christian Surfers, 2010). Perhaps then it is not possible to suggest that Christian Surfers are a direct evolution of the Soul Surfer but another ideal type which highlights the importance of time and place in the development of ideal types. The importance of time and place also suggests that the relationship established between the Soul Surfer and the Local Surfer in my previous work (Beaumont, 2007) were similarities in place but their differences were evident in the time they could be found.

This study has not only provided a more extensive look at the conceptual abstractions of the Local Surfer which has formed the ideal type on which this study focuses on, but also provides additional insights into the conceptual abstractions which formed the remaining surfing ideal types presented in the surfing literature. However, the expanded time frame of this study in comparison to my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) suggests a difference in the conceptual abstractions of the Local Surfer over this time period, in particular at their concern for exhibiting brand names and logos which doesn't exist in older Local Surfers such as Phil, and the fact that for Phil and Wes, their fathers did not teach them to surf because they were of the generation before surfing began in England. There is also evidence indicating a time when the Wannabe could not be found and the young generations were not concerned with the pursuit of the Professional Surfer. This therefore presents the possibility of other historical ideal types that existed and possibly evolved into the surfing ideal types established in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) and refined in this study, through events that affected the surfing subculture.

The Evolution of Historical Surfer Types through Time, Culture and Commercialism

When presenting and discussing the following historical types that have arisen in this study it must be taken into consideration that it is their presence in England that is also of concern. These surfing ideal types may have not existed

in the more popular surfing locations such as California and Australia, and even if they did, it may have been at a different time to England. Therefore when establishing these historical ideal types it will be done in terms of their presence and role in the surfing subculture in England. A well known historical ideal type; the kook, is a logical ideal type to come before the Wannabe. Still a term used today, a kook is described as “an inexperienced or disrespectful surfer” (Werner, 1999: 110). The term kook originates from the Hawaiian term Kukai which literally means “shit”. Kossy (1999) writes that Californian surfers visiting the islands picked up the term during their visits around 1930/1940. The literal meaning of Kukai can be seen at San Onofre, an original surf spot in southern California where there is a small canyon above the beach that was named “Kukai Canyon” because this was where everyone went to defecate in pre-outhouse days (Kossy, 1999). This historical type is only mentioned once during this study by Wes who uses it when referring to someone who is not a good surfer (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 34:05-3). Although it is only referred to once here in other cultures its usage has been clearly documented however it was heard infrequently during participant observation and field note taking. First of all it has already been stated that a surfing type existed before the Wannabe, and a kook carries many of the characteristics of a Wannabe. Secondly, this term began globalising from Hawaii during the 1930s and 1940s with Californians who then would have taken the word kook with them to Australia when they first visited in 1955 and in turn the Australians would have continued this process when they travelled to England in the late 1950s early 1960s. Therefore this label would likely have been in use in England. Finally Wes, a surfer who was around before the term Wannabe was established, uses the term kook and therefore highlights the types usage within England.

There is however the existence of another surfing type that has never been directly referred to in previous literature and therefore is established in this study. This type is thought to prequel the Professional Surfer and is labelled as the Organised Surfer. It is known as this because it is involved in surfing clubs

and organisations and can be seen as being very similar to the Surf Life Savers of Australia established by Pearson (1979). In fact it can be said that the Surf Life Savers of Australia went some way in establishing the Organised Surfer type in England as in 1953 Surf Life Saver Allan Kennedy set up the first Surf Life Saving Club in England (Finney and Houston, 1996, Alderson, 2000 and Warshaw, 2005). However, surfing clubs had existed since 1923 when Nigel Oxenden set up the Island Surf Club of Jersey (Wade, 2007). Alongside Surf Life Saving Clubs, surf clubs continued to develop and now SportFocus (2010) lists over forty surfing clubs and associations on its website, and this doesn't even include university surf clubs. Although now members of these clubs would be considered Professional Surfers or Local Surfers depending on their use and agenda for the club or organisation, many surfers' roots are in these clubs and organisations when they were just an avenue to participate in surfing. Ruth is a surfer whose initial participation in surfing was as an Organised Surfer. At the age of sixteen she joined the surf club at Whitsand bay and learnt how to surf completing a bronze medallion award, but also learnt the etiquette of surfing from the more experienced members of the club (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09). Her use of the club highlights the difference in how surf clubs are used at present. For example the relatively newly established East Caradon Surf Club has a very pointed local agenda and contains many Local Surfers as members. This surf club in particular will be discussed further in this context when focusing on its involvement in the community.

The final historical type presented is the Founding Surfer. This type is thought to have been the first ever surfing type to exist in England and therefore other surfing types contain, in some part, characteristics which have evolved from it. Phil is an example of a Founding Surfer as he was one of a group of surfers who established surfing in certain areas of England, in his case South East Cornwall. Phil began surfing in the late 1970s and as surfing only came to England in the late 1950s early 1960s there were still very few surfers and as Phil states;

It was very much a minority sport. There were very few umm, there were very few things that were recognised as surfer in those days

you know there weren't that many clothes around or, people just had the bare equipment

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00:04: 28-9)

In South East Cornwall in particular he reflects that he only used to ever see one or two people in the water and predominantly surfed on his own putting this down to a lack of information on surfing at this time;

there was no internet and there was nothing on TV about it, there was no, there was hardly any printed matter, certainly no films about surfing in, in the UK

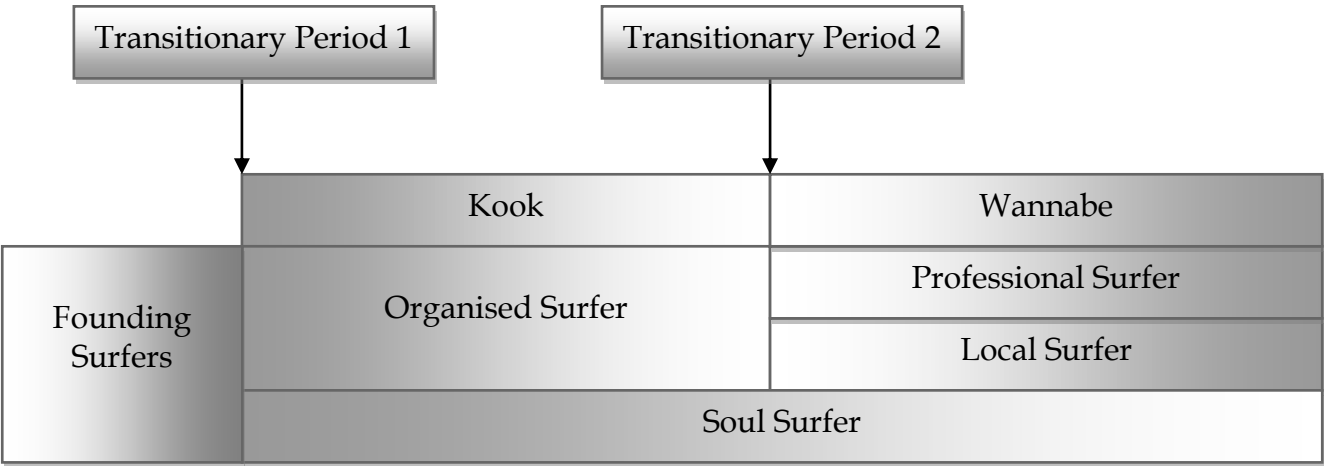
(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00:06: 35-2)

Founding Surfers played a role in opening up surfing in a particular area or location of England and this is recognised by future surfers. Wes highlights that; "Phil was a big surfer from sort of the same area as Ryan Wheel and Simon Howard...they kind of pioneered that whole coast" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 20: 48-6, 00: 20: 52-5). However at the point when Phil began encouraging other local people to surf in the area, such as Wes, and becoming protective of his local waters, he had become a Local Surfer. At present there are very few possibilities of opening up a new area to surfing and because information is so widely available on surfing the Founding Surfer will no longer be coming into existence in England.

If it is possible to determine the existence of the kook before the Wannabe, the increase in population of the Wannabe causing crowding, the existence of the Organised Surfer before the Professional Surfer and the Local Surfer, and the origins of surfing with the Founding Surfer, it must be determined what caused these surfing types to evolve or change and when did the evolution or change occur. The historical types seem to suggest two "transitory periods" within this time period that affected the surfing types. One, estimated to be around 1980, which establishes the kook, Organised Surfer and Soul Surfer, and a second, estimated to be around 2000, which evolves these types to the Wannabe, the Professional Surfer and the Local Surfer. A depiction of when

these transitional periods occurred and the changes in surfing types can be viewed below in Figure Nine.

Figure Nine.



What caused transitional period one and two and when they occurred can be established through a combination of literature and data from this study. My previous study (Beaumont, 2007) discussed the development of the surfing subculture and noted a parallel between its development in California and its development in England. This development included the formation of the kook, the Soul Surfer and what was termed the pro surfer but can now be identified as the Organised Surfer. I previously noted that these surfing types originally developed in California as a result of the emergence and rapid growth of the surfing subculture through industries such as fashion, music and film which took advantage of surfing’s popularity in California at this point in time and commercialised surfing (Beaumont, 2007). This development in the surfing subculture globalised and continued the emergence of the kook, the Soul Surfer and the Organised Surfer in other countries, including England. Therefore transitional period one in the surfing subculture timeline can be seen as a wave of commercialism. However, it now must be established when this wave of commercialism occurred. It is known when the changes in the surfing subculture occurred in California, and there are several events found in the literature and data from this study that occurred in England that can help date when these changes occurred in England and also show how long it took the

surfing subculture to globalise from California to England at this point in time. Literature notes that the surfing subculture came to England during the 1900s developing in the South-West in particular during the 1960s due to Newquay's local government supplying full-time lifeguards (Holmes and Wilson, 1994, Warshaw, 2005). Phil confirms this by stating that surfing had only really started in the 1960s and even in the 1970s there was still very few people surfing (Phil Cole, 26/08/09). This suggests that the Phil was still a Founding Surfer type during the 1970s, however, it is understood that he evolves to a Local Surfer type when he supports Wes's participation in surfing during the mid 1990s. Therefore it can be suggested that the wave of commercialism occurs at some point between the 1970s and the mid 1990s or is a gradual process between these two dates. Mackert (2005) however helps define this date further with his statement:

In the eighties there was a big surf and skateboard revival, which led to a total commercialisation by the clothing companies. Overnight all the kids in America were running around with shirts from companies like RUSTY, QUIKSILVER or GOTCHA, combined with the concept that surfing is the ultimate lifestyle. Slowly the rest of the world began to understand this. This revolution was televised, and through magazines and films the lifestyle was communicated to the rest of the world.

(Mackert, 2005: 47)

This statement then suggests that the wave of commercialisation established in America then globalised and would have arrive in England at some point in the eighties.

It has already been suggested by Jacob that a wave of commercialism took place in the 2000s that caused a change in attitude towards the clothing that the Local Surfer wears;

like early 2000s like umm, surfing just wasn't as main stream as it is now and so if you were wearing a Billabong top much more so than now that did mean that you did surf, whereas now surfing fashion has become so, so much more mainstream in really quite a short space of time

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 13: 26-8)

Evidence of this wave of commercialism can be seen in the research published by the BSA in 2001 that suggested that the surfing industry's annual turnover had risen to around £200 million with a report by Cornish Enterprise estimating that nearly a quarter of this amount came from Cornwall alone (Wade, 2007). Even more recently in 2004 Wade (2007) notes that another report estimated the Cornish surfing industry's annual turnover at £64 million. Rachel also notes that surfing's popularity increased making it a "cool thing to do" and started surfing herself during the start of 2000s (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). It has already been established that she started surfing as a Wannabe and therefore this sits well with Jacob's statement. However, it has already been stated that Phil first showed signs of being a Local Surfer in the mid 1990s and even though now considered a Local Surfer, Jacob decided to take up surfing in the late 1990s (Phil Cole, 26/08/09 and Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09). Therefore the change can be viewed as a gradual process starting from the mid 1990s continuing into the early 2000s. Knowing that the second wave of commercialism was a gradual process can therefore suggest that this is also the case for the first wave. Finally, it is logical that once again commercialism caused this second change in surfing types as the surfing types established at this point can be seen as a direct reaction to commercialism either positively or negatively.

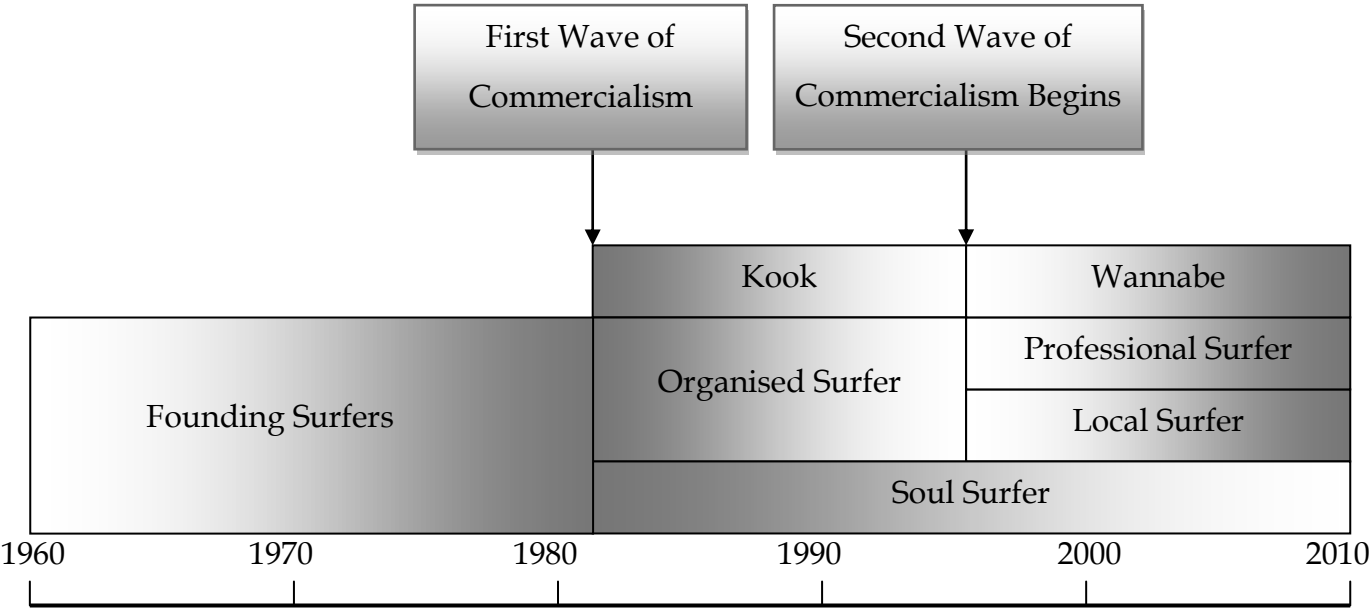
Overall then commercialism has played a significant part in the history, development and evolution of the surfing subculture in England over the time period that this study investigates. As Heyland states in Wade (2007: 172) "These days it's a commercial whirlpool". Although there are those who remain in direct opposition to the commercial waves that have hit England and who

believe the ethos of commercialism is worlds away from most people’s experience of surfing in England, illustrated here by Mackert’s (2005: 3) comment:

Of course the commercialisation of surfing has had a negative impact on the TRUE SPIRIT of the sport. But despite that, it has not, and never will lose its soul and spirit, because the magic that envelops you when surfing is far too powerful.

But in contrast as Heyland asserts “surfing wouldn’t be where it is now without commercialism. Without it, we’d still be riding tree trunks” (Wade, 2007: 172). With knowledge of these historical types, when they existed, when they evolved and why they evolved it is possible to begin to plot a timeline of the surfing subculture containing the surfing types in England over the time period of this investigation. By reflecting back on the typology presented in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) it has been shown that this typology has developed further, adding historical types and finding reason and evidence as to why and when they changed creating a typology timeline of the surfing subculture which is time and place specific, viewed in Figure Ten.

Figure Ten.



One feature of the typology I created in Beaumont (2007) which contained the surfing types the Wannabe, the Soul Surfer, the Local Surfer and the Sponsored Surfer, was that identity was a contested dynamic and due to age or maturity, surfers were mobile and could evolve and change to move from one type to another. The above typology timeline suggests however that surfers change their surfing type according to the waves of commercialism that hit the surfing subculture, a significantly different finding to my previous study (Beaumont, 2007). The creation of the typology timeline illustrates that this is possible once the waves of commercialism hit the surfers within a particular surfing type evolve to form a new one depending on how the wave of commercialism has effected them. There exists many examples within this study that show the movement from one type to another, some changing with the waves of commercialism, others because of events and changes in their life. Out of the surfers interviewed, the only subject that changed their type due to the waves of commercialism was Phil. Phil evolved from a Founding Surfer, opening up South East Cornwall to surfing, to a Local Surfer after the second wave of commercialism hit during the mid 1990s. Phil's surfing type evolved as a direct reaction to the second wave of commercialism and to the crowding that began at his local waters. When discussing his entry into surfing he describes how he would often be the only one in the water, and we know from Wes that he is labelled as being a pioneer of surfing in South East Cornwall, however, as he progresses to become more experienced later in his life he notes the tension that crowding causes in locals water when outsiders come to surf there and states "I don't like it when lots of people come over from Plymouth" (Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 12: 50-0). Moving on to focus on surfers who change their surfing type through events or changes in their life, this study shows that the two female Local Surfers became Local Surfers once they had married their Local Surfer partners. In both cases the relationship these subjects have with their Local Surfer husbands is what caused their evolution from a Wannabe in Rachel's case and an Organised Surfer in Ruth's case to a Local Surfer. Rachel and Ruth's past surfing types are an affirmative response to the question presented in Chapter Two can a Local Surfer come from any other type of

surfer? Rachel was previously a Wannabe displaying characteristics such as purchases of brand name surf clothing and the way she coveted a friend's surfboard. Yet once she married she began supporting the local community and most importantly supporting her Local Surfer husband so he could continue to surf. Contrastingly Ruth could previously be viewed as an Organised Surfer due to her involvement with a surf club and her completion of qualifications such as the bronze medallion. Once married she too supported her husband in his surfing by going along on surf trips to watch but also supports the involvement of her son on his way into surfing. Although he was not previously another type of surfer, Billy also shows signs of wavering from being a Local Surfer to a Professional Surfer through his interest in competition. Billy's evolution is seen as a process which is occurring at present. As although he was introduced to surfing as a Local Surfer, he is also showing some characteristics of a Professional Surfer and may at this point in time be evolving from one type to another. Billy's Local Surfer characteristics include his induction to surfing through his father and other Local Surfers, and his relationship with his local waters; however, he also mentions his participation in surfing competitions (Billy Reed, 28/11/09). It is also possible to consider that this may be a stage in the surfing career of the Local Surfer and not a sign of a change in surfing type. This will be discussed again then when focusing on the career of the Local Surfer. It is possible to say that movement from one type to another as stated in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) is possible however it has been further established here that this can occur either through events in the surfing subculture, for example the waves of commercialism noted in the period of time being focused on in this study, or through events in the surfers life and not through age or maturity as suggested in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007). Reflecting once again back to the literature review, it was asked: can a Local Surfer hold onto and express any characteristics from their previous type and if so, how does this affect their Local Surfer identity? This study found that once a surfer has changed type, there is little evidence to show that they hold onto any of their previous types characteristics and therefore this had little affect on their Local Surfer identity. Ruth for example is no longer

involved in the surf club or pursues surfing as a Professional Surfer would. The Founding Surfer for example, was specific to a particular time period and state of the surfing subculture and therefore it is not viable that Phil would express any of these characteristics from this type. Rachel is the closest to holding onto her previous identity and this is only through her continual purchase of brand name clothing and none of this clothing displays large brand names. In Billy's case however it is possible to see him exhibiting characteristics from both the Local Surfer type and the professional type. This is because he is possibly in part of a process evolving from one type to another. When discussing the typology timeline presented earlier it was discovered that the surfing types evolved and changed over a period of time. As the evolution of surfing types was a gradual process it can be concluded that the evolution of the surfers is also a gradual process as they evolve from one type to another. Neither Rachel nor Billy who display characteristics of other surfing types alongside their Local Surfer type show any signs that these characteristics affect their local identity. For Rachel the characteristics are not strong enough and could be considered to be the last process of her evolution from Wannabe to Local Surfer. For Billy however, it is possible he wants to experience the Professional Surfer type but will ultimately choose to remain a Local Surfer. For this reason it is possible to consider this a stage in the Local Surfers career that once again will be discussed in due course. It is worth noting though that many Local Surfers will experience opportunities to change their surfing type but will pass them up to remain a Local Surfer. For example, Joe has been offered the opportunity to feature in a professional surf video, an opportunity that would begin the process of him becoming a Professional Surfer. However, according to his father Karl, Joe just wanted to continue coaching surfing (Cold Water Classic, 03/01/09). Many times Jacob has remarked on Wes's ability and opportunity when he was younger to become a Professional Surfer yet remarked that it was just not what he wanted to do. This goes somewhat in answering the question: if a Local Surfer changes their identity to another type, how are they treated by other Local Surfers and is it possible for them to return to being a Local Surfer?

However, there was not sufficient data to fully answer this question and this provides an area for further investigation in the future.

Summary

In summary this chapter has addressed the topic of ideal types in the surfing subculture. In terms of *The Local Surfer: Style and Socialisation*, this study found evidence to support the presence of the Local Surfer in this community but also data which showed the conceptual abstractions related to and socialisation. Sections such as Identification with Local waters expanded upon previous knowledge of the Local Surfers and provided a comparison to Laurence and Cartier's (2003) theory of native place.

In *Going beyond Style and Socialisation* further characteristics of the Local Surfer were presented. Firstly, the social element to surfing for the local surfer was noted. Secondly, their typical self employment or incorporation into their working life which highlighted the work of Parker (1976) who noted the tendency for line between work and leisure to blur. Thirdly, that through being self-employed, the Local Surfer then tends to become involved in a network of mutually supportive local business relations in order to support other Local Surfers. Fourthly, the Local Surfers self-employment alongside their relationship with local waters however is what also separates them from other surfing types such as the Wannabe. There was also further insight into the Local Surfers dislike for the Wannabe and it was considered that the Local Surfers dislike of the Wannabe is a direct reflection of their dislike for commercialism.

Discussion then took place on whether surfing was a sport or pursuit to the local surfer. This involved reflecting on Chapter Two where literature defining sports and pursuits was presented. Data from the Local Surfers indicated that to them, surfing was a pursuit.

The section entitled *The Identity of the Local Surfer's Home* looked at the wider area of Caradon and South East Cornwall that Hessiack was set within. Theory

concerning the concept place and in particular once again Laurence and Cartier's (2003) concept of native place and Babacan's (2005) concern with geographic icons in a place evoking emotions highlighted the insiders attachment to Hessiock.

In the section The Local Surfer Family and Gender Differences the differences between male and female Local Surfers were discussed and it was discovered that they played a supportive role in their marriage that allowed their husbands to continue to surf but keep their participation levels down. This was comparable to the work Thompson (1999) undertook on Tennis players where a gendered division of labour existed yet both genders were happy within their role. However, the characteristics noted of the female Local Surfer were noted to be specific to married Local Surfer females.

Continuing to develop on my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) further evidence was presented in Other Surfing Types to support the presence of other surfing types such as the Wannabe, the Professional Surfer and the Soul Surfer through support of known conceptual abstractions and the discovery of additional characteristics. The final section developed a typology timeline highlighting two transitional periods in the surfing subculture past in England. These transitional periods were seen as waves of commercialism which highlighted historical surfing types that existed before the ideal types developed in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007). Overall this section has further established the qualities of the surfing ideal types, in particular the Local Surfer which is the focus of this study. With this type established it is now possible to continue further investigation into it by focusing on its identity in particular its construction and confirmation, and the characteristics of its life in particular applying the concept of career as developed by Erving Goffman (1961).

Chapter Five

The Local Surfer; Identity Construction and Career

This section focuses on the Local Surfer in terms of identity construction and career. Firstly, this will involve applying Donnelly and Young's (1988 and 1999) work to the data collected. Secondly, it then applies Goffman's concept of career (1961) to make better sense of the Local Surfers life in surfing. When discussing each of these concepts it must be remembered that the surfing subculture has changed over time with two significant waves of commercialism which will possibly effect the identity construction and confirmation, and career of surfers at different points. There must therefore be acknowledgement and consideration of any discrepant or emergent data which although possibly contradicts the above concepts, acts as further evidence for the changes in the surfing subculture over time.

Identity Construction and Confirmation

Donnelly and Young (1999) used a symbolic interactionist theoretical perspective to produce significant insights into socialisation and what they view as the deliberative process of identity construction in sport. In their work on identity construction they outlined what they believe are the three stages of identity construction; presocialisation; selection/recruitment; and socialisation (Donnelly and Young, 1999) which were presented during the literature review section of this study. It is now possible to revisit these stages again to discover whether, as Donnelly and Young believe, that the process of identity construction is relevant to other sports. However is it possible to be applied to the identity of the Local Surfer where surfing is a subcultural pursuit and not a sport?

Presocialisation

In the case of the Local Surfer, this is in evidence that presocialisation occurs predominantly through the Local Surfers family, followed by their fellow Local Surfer friends, but also for Local Surfers like Jacob and Wes, through particular surfing films. Evidence supporting this was shown in Chapter Four. Wes commented that surfing films such as “Endless Summer One, Endless Summer Two, ...we all watched those over and over and over again” (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 25: 52-4) while on being asked about his first observations of surfing Jacob noted that “obviously the film point break is quite...epic” (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09, 00:00: 58-9 and 00:01: 10-1). Previously I found that Pesocialisation predominantly came from the Local Surfers family, in particular from the father (Beaumont, 2007). Data from this study strongly supports this to be a strong presocialisation influence. For example Michael commented that his first observations of surfing were “when I was born, literally, not born...but you know dad was at the beach surfing umm, you know, I’ve got pictures of me when I was a baby sitting on a surf board so (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:00: 39-7 and 00:00: 49-7). Similarly Billy commented that his observations of surfing took place when he;

was probably younger than five, three, two, but I can’t remember,
one probably cause I used to go to France before I could walk, that’s
where I learnt to walk in France on the coast so yeah then

(Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00:00: 51-8)

The role of the family in presocialisation is evident within other studies who apply Donnelly and Young’s theory of presocialisation such as Dev`ls-Dev`ls and Sparkes (1999) whose focus on a Spanish student showed that presocialisation occurred for him through his family in hunting, fishing and team games and Tranckle and Cusion (2006) who showed the influence the family on their children into sports where they are involved in talent detection.

However, alongside presocialisation through family lifestyle practices data also suggests that presocialisation occurs through other Local Surfers otherwise seen as being peers. Jacob in particular notes that he was a lifeguard and it was in

this environment that he learnt about surfing from other Local Surfers viewed as his peers such as Wes who also worked as a lifeguard at this point in time.

probably the person who was most encouraging was Wes Deacon he was the one who sort of continually hassled me to buy his board, no just buy a board he helped me to get, he got me, put me in contact with Simon Howard who I bought my first wetsuit off, an old Sealed wetsuit well it was a new one at the time but umm, yeah umm, yeah Simon, yeah so Wes, Wes definitely would be if I was going to single out one person I'd say that Wes would be the person who was directly responsible for me surfing yeah he just constantly encouraged me and tried to get me into it, it took me quite a few times and just, he knew that I would enjoy it and just sort of, sort of hassled me until I did it.

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00:04: 55-3)

Wes and Jacob also note watching surfers at Waverton on their way home from school, Wes in particular commenting "getting the school bus and walking up from Waverton we'd, I mean we would always see people surfing and we'd stand and watch for a bit like that". (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 18: 22-6). It is presumed that these surfers would be Local Surfers as in the case of these participants pre-socialisation took place before the population increase of the Wannabe took place. Peer involvement in presocialisation, as seen in the case of Jacob and Wes is notably stronger in cases where the individual's family did not already surf. Although both Jacob and Wes note the influence of surfing films during the stage of presocialisation (a point which will be discussed next), it is their peers who are viewed as being the most influential as they were able to provide a first hand look and experience of surfing. In support of the above Trankle and Cushion (2006) believe that presocialisation has a strong influence on a participant's choice of sport subculture, claiming that the stereotypical preconceptions that are formed during presocialisation usually come through family, peers or the media.

Although the Local Surfer is considered to be in opposition of commercialism, nevertheless many of the Local Surfers reported presocialisation took place through watching films. Wes believes that films were a big influence on surf culture providing him with an insight into the surfing subculture prior to actually taking up surfing. He notes "I had seen North Shore, have you seen that, really surfy sort of film...I worked out that camera thing and I thought oh wow that is amazing, brilliant" and "Endless summer, Endless Summer One, Endless Summer Two and they do talk about etiquette and stuff like that in there and so that, everybody, we all watched those over and over and over again so you do learn" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 18:07-2, 00: 18: 22-6 and 00: 25: 52-4). Similarly Jacob notes that some of his first observations were from the film Point Break and continues to state that many of his observations of surfing at this point "would have been you know through the media and stuff like that" (Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00:01: 10-1) However he does not elaborate as to what types of media he is referring to. Booth (1996) states that surfing films affirm what it means to be a surfer giving a Local Surfer at this stage an expectation of the identity they were beginning to enter. However, as many surfing films are based in the popular surfing locations of Australia and America, there are little expectations to provide for the English Local Surfer. Tranckle and Cushion (2006) agree with Booth (1996) and state that preconceptions through the media and film prepare the individual for the subculture in a possibly naïve way and I believe this is because the media and films will be time and location specific and often idealistic and romanticised. It is therefore possible for presocialisation through the media but through the portrayal of images that stereotype the time and location. It is these stereotypical images which Donnelly and Young (1988) believe occur at this point in identity construction. Many films (Point Break being the exception) mentioned would be considered "pure" surf films by Booth (1996: 317) as they focused on "wave locations, board designs, riding styles and cultural trends" and contained very limited commercial input, and therefore the expectation and preconceptions here are reasonably accurate. By focusing on the

presocialisation of the Local Surfer it is possible to say that they are not always in conflict with all forms of commercialism.

Selection/Recruitment

When discussing the second stage of identity construction; selection/recruitment it was suggested by Neal and Walters (2008) that only three ways of selection/recruitment existed; through familial lineage links; through friendship networks and familiarity; and through being invited. As Rachel states;

It's a very popular sport around here...a lot of the children who are growing up are learning to surf, a lot of the surfers who are grown up have grown up surfing so surfing is something that very much is in common

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

This highlights the young age at which this stage commonly takes place and the continual cycle of people learning. For many of the Local Surfers, selection/recruitment came through familial lineage links and friendship networks and familiarity. Michael for example believes that through his dad's involvement in surfing: "its kind of like inbuilt in me really I think, I didn't really, not have a choice but it was just the sort of like, not had to but its just but it would be quite weird not to" (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:03:02-7). Wes also notes that even though his parents weren't involved in surfing, family friends who were Founding Surfers helped him.

we had these body boards and we used to go in at school house before we ever knew it was dangerous, mum and dad really hadn't got a clue about...the ocean pull... they have obviously got a better idea now, but we'd go in and everybody would be looking at us "Oh my God what are these two kids doing out on these body boards". We had, like really dodgy long jump wet suits on...rubber gloves, like rugby socks with plastic bags over me and then like diving fins on stuff like that trying to body board (laughs) and I think we saw Phil well down there and he was like Oh my God what

do you look like and he turned up the next day I think or that evening with a board and said here take this...yeah so Phil gave us me my first board.

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 18: 31-5, 00: 18: 42-1, 00: 19:02-2 and 00: 19:05-4)

Even though Jacob began surfing in his twenties, his friendship with Wes is what finally got him to participate.

Wes definitely would be if I was going to single out one person I'd say that Wes would be the person who was directly responsible for me surfing yeah he just constantly encouraged me and tried to get me into it, it took me quite a few times and just, he knew that I would enjoy it and just sort of, sort of hassled me until I did it.

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00:04: 55-3)

Rachel also began surfing due to a friend and describes her first time in the water;

the first time I surfed was with my boyfriend at the time and as I said that was just on a body board and he had been body boarding quite a lot so he took me in and kind of showed me what to do and I can remember to this day catching my first wave and it was so, like so good

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

A more in depth discussion on the involvement of family and friends in participation can be seen in Chapter Four when discussing the family and peer encouragement into surfing as a conceptual abstraction. There was however very little suggestion of an invitation to participate from family which began the selection/recruitment stage of the Local Surfer. As many were selected and recruited through family it would be unnecessary to be invited out, it would have been a natural progression. However for those selected and recruited by friends it is suggested that an invitation was given, seen above in the way Wes encouraged and even 'hassled' Jacob into surfing.

What was considered more valuable however to this study was the issues surrounding this choice to participate and previously I had suggested that the Local Surfer's get involved in surfing through the "lack of anything else to do" and the close proximity to the beach (Beaumont, 2007). Many of the activities that are available in the village are aimed at an older age group, as Jacob confirms.

There's quite a strong local community of people that meet at the Working Men's Club and that has weekly bingo and sort of coffee mornings and stuff like that...the pantos on and stuff like that, and that's, they always have one or two a year, and they're really well attended, so sort of theatrics, amateur theatrics and stuff are quite popular in the village, and bingo, and bowls, they sometimes, Oh, there is a badminton net in the Working Men's Club and some of the older people play badminton and stuff.

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

These activities take place within the Working Men's Club which attracts an older age group not noted for beginning their identity construction as a Local Surfer. Although there is a football team in the village, this is an adult team only and they have to travel to Trevet to play. Rachel commented that "don't think I've ever really heard much about Rugby or Cricket" suggesting that these sports were not available within the village (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09) and as Jacob states "unfortunately there's not a huge amount of facilities in the village...we haven't got hardly any facilities in fact that enable people to do sport" (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09) limiting further what activities can take place. On being asked what brought the village together, Jacob replied;

obviously facilities are fairly poor, so the only events really like, sporting events like the surf club started up a surfing competition which involved people from the village and that wasn't just Hessiock though, there was other villages invited as well, so that obviously made a big difference, people got into that, that was in the Winter

months. That was quite well attended from people within the surfing culture who live there, and other people as well actually just from the village came down and supported it

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

With poor facilities Jacob believes that surfing and the organisations involved in it bring people together. Rachel agrees and states “that’s why surfing is so popular I think, it’s the one thing that the village can provide” (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). As Ford and Brown (2006) state, for young people, which at this stage many Local Surfers inevitably are, living near a surfbreak means that initiation into surfing may be a natural and inevitable process. It is a combination of familial lineage links, friendship networks and familiarity, lack of anything else to do and the close proximity to the beach that generates the Local Surfers selection/recruitment stage in the identity construction of the Local Surfer. This is strongly illustrated by the inter generational links between Phil, Wes and Jacob indicated above.

Socialisation

The third and final stage of identity construction is socialisation where accurate identity construction begins with behaviour, language, dress and characteristics all coming in to line with that of the subculture (Hogg *et al*, 1999). It is at this point however that Donnelly and Young (1999) recognised significant “rookie errors” in terms of accuracy of presocialisation, impression management, anticipatory socialisation, and resolving contradictions.

The accuracy of presocialisation for the Local Surfer did not always concern hostility from veteran surfers towards them as beginners as many of the veterans were in contact with were themselves Local Surfers. Even though many of the Local Surfers interviewed showed their dislike for beginners, this dislike was never shown towards beginners of their own surfing type, evidenced in their own first time experiences in the water. Billy felt that the more experienced surfers just wanted to get him better and this feeling of

support was influenced by the fact his father is a Local Surfer himself. However, he went on to add;

but against people now, if they can't surf its not a very good attitude
I don't think because they just get in the way but that's just me
because I'm biased cause I get annoyed with them if they get in the
way

(Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00:02: 23-4)

Wes was also supported by experienced Local Surfers when he began to surf but noted that "if your learning later on in life its a lot harder because [they] aren't quite as forgiving" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 22: 30- 0). However, again this comment is not directed to Local Surfers as even at an older age they are supported by other Local Surfers. For example, Jacob who began surfing in his twenties was supported as a beginner by Wes giving a little insight into how adults become Local Surfers but highlighting the future research needed in this area. This shows then that hostility does not exist among experienced veteran Local Surfers towards beginner Local Surfers and therefore rookie errors during accuracy of presocialisation was not in evidence for these Local Surfers during the identity confirmation phase as at this time there were possibly fewer non Local Surfers in the water.

Age was also shown to be significant in the use of impression management as many of the Local Surfers interviewed were too young when they were beginners to engage in impression management. When questioned as to whether he was embarrassed by anything he did in the water as beginner, Michael responded;

Not really I think I was a bit young, its not like if I surf now I probably be a bit, if I started now I'd probably feel a bit conscious...no one likes to be crap at something do they and if there's lots of good people out there...Well you just, you don't know do you,

you just don't really care you just get on with it your like blinkered
as a kid

(Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:05: 22-6, 00:05: 29-9, 00:05: 39-2)

Local Surfer Jacob who began surfing in his twenties, provides the closest example of impression management and confirms that age is significant in the third and final stage of identity construction for the Local Surfer. Jacob was aware how he would look in the water as a beginner in the eyes of the more experienced surfers and states that "that's actually one of the reasons why I didn't start for a couple of years... I didn't want to look like a Wally" (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09, 00: 10: 30-2). Despite this realisation however, Jacob did little impression management and decided to "accept that I was going to look like a bit of a Wally and just crack on" (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09, 00: 10: 30-2). Once again there is little evidence of "rookie" errors in the form of impression management reported by participants.

There has already been brief discussion of anticipatory socialisation when focusing on the Local Surfers choice of clothing. It was suggested that the Local Surfer did not use visual symbols such as clothing to support their identity as a Local Surfer because this was a technique typically used by the Wannabe, and the Local Surfer wanted to be in complete contrast to this surfing type. However, this situation is only evident since the existence of the Wannabe and the Local Surfer. Before this time there is evidence of Phil using visual symbols as a form of identification but at this time he was a Founding Surfer and unlike Donnelly and Young's (1999) "rookie error" example in the process of anticipatory socialisation, it could be said at this time that Phil's use of visual symbols such as surfing brand name t-shirts were a direct reflection of his identity and not a rookie error. As Phil states "If you ever saw anyone who had anything like a surfing t-shirt at a party you'd go straight up and talk to them because it was so rare, there was so very few people involved in it" (Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00:04: 28-9). Although age effects the existence of accuracy of presocialisation and impression management, anticipatory socialisation does

not seem to feature strongly among Local Surfers, particularly in the form suggested by Donnelly and Young (1999).

The final element of socialisation, resolving contradictions is viewed as the most important stage of identity construction according to Donnelly and Young (1999). It was suggested in the literature review that hostility exists in the water from veteran Local Surfers towards novices, and this study should attempt to unravel what the novice perceives as expected values and what are actually the apparent values they perceive from the veteran Local Surfer. However, it has already been shown that the veteran surfer does not normally show hostility to the novice Local Surfer but rather nurtures and encourages them into surfing and the typically Local Surfer is of such a young age when this happens that they do not have any preconceived ideas as to their expectations and what then are the apparent values of the veteran Local Surfer. However, the novice Local Surfer still learns a lot from the veteran Local Surfer, particularly when they become a Local Surfer at an older age. Many of the older novices cited their interaction with experienced surfers as where they learnt the true values and behaviours of being a Local Surfer. Rachel notes;

Over the years I've learnt a lot from more experienced surfers...not so much cos they've taught it to me directly, it's been more subtle just by hearing conversations and hearing them talk to each other

(Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09)

Many of the stories that the more experienced surfers would tell would be personal stories of events in their life, for example Robert would tell Billy "About like when he like almost drowned at Constantine and stuff like that" (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00:03:05-1) and Simon and his Local Surfer friends would tell Michael Just general ones when they used to go down to France or whatever...they were a bit of a laugh really" (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:02:38-7, 00:02:44-2). These stories were based on past significant events and contain many of the fundamental values of surfing and in particular Local Surfing. Even though many of the Local Surfers are very young when they

experience this stage it does not mean that this does not have an effect on their socialisation. Their age is in fact significant as they are more likely to take on board the values without question.

Identity Confirmation

The process of identity confirmation follows identity construction according to Donnelly and Young (1999). As Donnelly and Young (1999) suggest the point at which a novice began to think of themselves as a participant usually occurred well before the existing participants or veterans thought of them as a fellow participant. Michael for example states that "In my mind I probably thought I was a surfer when I started" (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:06: 46-9). There was little evidence showing when this moment of confirmation took place among Local Surfers although it is suggested that this moment is similar or related to the reconfirmation of identity that occurs among Local Surfers. Even though little evidence existed on the confirmation of identity all Local Surfers expressed their need to prove themselves in the water viewed as the reconfirmation of their identity. Although he prefers to label it as a mind concept than a proving of his identity, Jacob articulates;

I think whenever you go surfing, I don't think its about proving yourself I think your sessions made easier if on your first wave you get a good wave cause everyone then knows that you can surf and then you'll be treated with a level of respect and umm, dignity in the water that if you, if you you know go out and you mess you're first wave up then everyone assumes that you can't surf and then therefore they might drop in on you more or you know and there's also just a mental mind thing, confidence you know once you get a good first wave and you feel like yeah I can, you know you know I'm good I'm alright the guys know that I can surf and it just gives you a buzz and that I think its probably more of a mind concept thing really.

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09:00: 20: 41-6)

This possible confirmation and reconfirmation does not always take place with Local Surfers from the same local waters but predominantly with Local Surfers entering waters that are not local to them. Wes supports this belief by stating that if you are known in a particular area then there is no need to prove yourself but “wherever you go and your not known you have to prove yourself every time” (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 35: 28-8). Michael also feels that he and other surfers have to prove themselves “when you go to somewhere new” (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:09: 32-8). Billy also believes that in his own waters it is not necessary to prove himself and states that “I can do what I want though cause some of the local lads I have known all my life” (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 10:06-1) however he agrees that he has to prove his identity when entering waters outside of his local waters. Confirmation and then reconfirmation of identity takes place most significantly when Local Surfers engage in surf sessions in waters outside of their own. This confirmation and reconfirmation is exhibited as Ford and Brown (2006: 132) suggested by the novice or in reconfirmation with the experienced Local Surfer by embodying qualities such as “good balance, timing, a technical repertoire, a degree of bravado in the face of a potentially dangerous wave”. Jacob notes that showing the qualities described above by getting “a good wave...[means that] everyone then knows that you can surf and then you’ll be treated with a level of respect and...dignity in the water” (Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 20: 41-6). Wes also supports the centrality of the above qualities by explaining that proving yourself in the water involves not backing down in what he terms as “a competitive arena” and “taking the waves and prioritising” (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 36:03-8). It is significant that Wes notes that even nonexperienced surfers can take the waves and prioritise in order to prove themselves suggesting that bravado is more important (or at least as important) in proving yourself than a high skill level. Kleine *et al* (2001) also note that identity reconfirmation involves the establishment of identity supporting social ties. It was clear during the interview process that Local Surfers would form identity supporting social ties. For example many of the Local Surfers would drop each other’s names into conversation during the interview, Phil being one

of the most popular. This is expected as he was a Founding Surfer but also considered as one of the first Local Surfers and therefore a strong Local Surfer identity which other Local Surfers would wish to be associated with.

A final suggestion by Donnelly and Young (1999) was that if people did not meet the standards set for identity confirmation then they were in danger of being ostracized from the group. There was however no evidence in this study to suggest that Local Surfers who did not meet the required standards were ostracised from the group. It is possible this is because they were aware of surfing etiquette and understood through acts of localism towards outsiders that what going against this etiquette would lead to. This assumption however leads to another area for further study which will feature in the concluding Chapter.

The use of Donnelly and Young's (1999) concept of identity construction and confirmation has enabled insight into the Local Surfer. However, this insight has felt restrained at times due to the suitability of this application to the pursuit of surfing. Donnelly and Young's (1999) concept was formulated around a sport and not a pursuit and therefore its application outside of sports produces limited results. Despite these limitations however it must be reiterated that identity construction and confirmation has provided a constructed means for discussion of the data collected.

Career

As was suggested in the literature review, theoretically the process of identity construction and confirmation can be seen as the beginnings of what is termed the Local Surfers "career" a concept proposed by Goffman (1961). This concept is used in order to respond to the question presented in Chapter Two section of this study: Secondly, what is the "career" of the Local Surfer and the processes of ageing? Discussion and application of this concept and the Local Surfer will begin by the consideration of whether it is possible to map out the career of the Local Surfer and in particular whether this can be done by creating typical

defined stages and then placing the Local Surfers interviewed or identified in the study within a particular stage. This will be done by analysing data given by Local Surfers suggesting their present stage and any data that supports or denies the existence and characteristics of other stages in the Local Surfer career. It is worth noting here that Ford and Brown (2006) suggest that any sports careers such as the Local Surfers will involve fluctuating levels of commitment, temporary or permanent suspension of involvement and points of reengagement. Therefore, it may be possible to suggest at what stage in the Local Surfers career it is possible to see these incidences occur. As with identity construction and confirmation, the commercial waves in the surfing subculture will be taken into consideration when outlining the career of the Local Surfer.

The data collected from this study suggests the following stages in a Local Surfers career, each of which will be presented and supported by data.

- The “nurturing” stage
- The competitive stage
- The traveller stage
- The responsible stage
- The “legends” stage

The “nurturing” Stage

A starting point to mapping out the Local Surfers career is to focus on data concerning the early years of Local Surfers lives. Much evidence has already been given during discussion of identity construction to suggest the majority of Local Surfer careers begin with the support of a family environment and/or with other Local Surfers. The focus then of this stage is the nurturing that the Local Surfer receives as they begin their surfing career. Michael spoke of how the experienced Local Surfers around him nurtured him once he had started;

I don't know really, they were just welcoming to me really cause obviously I was in it if you know what I mean, I wasn't an outsider, it was more of an egging me on really I think

(Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:01: 45-6)

The majority of Local Surfers begin this stage at a young age, even from the point they are born in the case of Michael. But there is the possibility of beginning a surfing career at an older age, evidence in Jacob Matthew's late entry into his Local Surfer career. Even at this age non-experienced Local Surfers can be nurtured by experienced Local Surfers and Jacob notes that Wes helped, constantly encouraged and even hassled him into surfing;

probably the person who was most encouraging was Wes Deacon he was the one who sort of continually hassled me to buy his board, no just buy a board he helped me to get, he got me, put me in contact with Stuart Hutchins who I bought my first wetsuit off

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09)

It should also be noted however that surfers who become Local Surfers at an older stage will be more likely to exit the nurture stage much quicker than younger Local Surfers and continue to the next stage that is relevant to their life. For example, Jacob was yet to be married or have children when he exited the nurture stage so entered the traveller stage soon after (which will be discussed shortly). It is during the nurture stage that the presocialisation and selection/recruitment stages of identity construction typically takes place for the Local Surfer and therefore much of the information on this stage lies in previous discussion on the stages of identity construction. Due to the significance of the care the Local Surfers receive at this stage it can be labelled and identified as the "nurture" stage of the Local Surfers career.

When focusing on the early years of becoming a sport fan, Crawford (2004) believes that the introduction into the career of a sports fan often happens at such a young age that once they become older the reasons and motivating factors behind their introduction are not always clear and Crawford (2004:43) writes "that in many cases this process may seem almost predestined". This is similar for the nurture stage of the Local Surfer. Similar to the Local Surfer, in many ways their introduction into the Local Surfer career is predestined as their

family will have decided to guide them into surfing. However, unlike Crawford's (2004) work on sport fans, it is obvious what the reasons and the motivating factors are; family, peers and the media, and their influence has already been discussed in detail within this and the previous chapter. As Crawford (2004) states induction into a career may be based on the more traditional route of family and peers however he cites Taylor (1995, cited in Crawford, 2004) who notes that in a media and consumer saturated society there are further opportunities to connect with sport. Crawford (2004) also supports the nurture element of this stage of the Local Surfers career, as he believes that social interaction through enthusiasm and the importance of tuition in learning the norms of a social group and facilitating a person's career.

As many Local Surfers enter their teenage years and move on from the nurture stage there is some evidence to suggest they seek a competitive form of surfing. It has already been suggested that the professional characteristics that Billy shows may not be evidence of him becoming a Professional Surfer but possibly a sign of a stage in the Local Surfers career. In support of this, Karl's son also attended the same competition (Cold Water Classic Meeting, 11/11/08) and many of the grom's (a sub cultural term for young surfers that also expresses a stage in terms of age) involved in the surf club for example will take part in the East Caradon Surf Club's Cold Water Classic competition according to Jacob (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). This competition is local and therefore is bound to receive support from the Local Surfers as they will dominate the competition and there will be little or no involvement from the Professional Surfer. This is illustrated through a conversation that Sam had with Rachel where he said that the Cold Water Classic was badly attended and it was more like a private competition because only people who had been directly contacted were there (Field Notes, 12/04/09). Other older Local Surfers such as Wes and Michael did not mention an interest in competitive surfing and therefore this is either considered a stage of career that is apparent since the second wave of commercialism and therefore a stage that they have not yet added to their career "portfolio" or as previously mentioned, a stage in the Local Surfer career

that did not exist when they were progressing linearly evolving from one type to another.

The Traveller Stage

Post nurturing stage and competitive stage of the Local Surfer's career, when identity construction is at its most prominent, it is possible to begin to answer the question presented in the literature review: what happens to the Local Surfer in the years after identity construction?

Moving on from this possible competitive stage, there is a large amount of data which suggests that once the Local Surfer exits their teenage years they have more control over their life and choose a life orientated around surfing through their job and lifestyle, in particular choosing to earn money to support their travelling abroad to prime surfing locations. For example, Michael has chosen a job in the surf retail industry and prior to his interview mentioned his upcoming trip to Indonesia. Similarly, Jacob is a supervising beach lifeguard who was also planning a trip to Indonesia at the time of the interview. As Ford and Brown (2006: 74) state the objective of a surfing lifestyle, which is seen to be achieved here by the Local Surfer, is to "develop and maintain a way of living which enables a high level of involvement in waveriding". It is possible to suggest that this stage stems from the film *The Endless Summer*, a film mentioned by Local Surfer Wes (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09) and regarded by many as "the" surf film (Booth, 1996). As Booth (1996) states, this film showed that surfing was no longer adolescent fun but had become the real thing with surfers being able to just surf and travel. I have termed this stage, the traveller stage of the Local Surfers career because of the importance and significance it plays on the rest of the Local Surfers life at this point in time. The self employment choice of the Local Surfer has been discussed in detail when focusing on the conceptual abstractions that make up the ideal type of the Local Surfer. Ford and Brown (2006) refer to a lifestyle surfer who can be compared to the Local Surfer at the traveller stage in their career. When referring to the lifestyle surfer they note the choice of self-employment but add that many undertake labour or an occupation that is seasonal which enables them to go

travelling for extended periods of time. This is evident in the Local Surfer in the traveller stage. Despite being married, Jacob (who works seasonally as a beach life guard) and Rachel also seem to be at this stage in their surfing career. Recently they both travelled to New Zealand, Jacob in particular for the surf. He noted that;

obviously the six months in New Zealand I progressed so much because I had the opportunity to surf high good quality waves whereas since I've come back in the five months I've been home I just haven't surfed hardly at all I wouldn't say my surfing's progressed at all in the last five months, I'm no better than I was when I left New Zealand and so I do accept that it might mean a couple, the odd trip here and there to get the opportunity to develop a little bit more

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 26: 46-6)

Joe at the time of the study was also travelling and surfing in Hawaii due to his seasonal work coaching surfing in Portugal (Cold Water Classic, 03/01/09). Local Surfer Michael, who runs his own surf retail business, mentioned in his interview his trips abroad to locations such as Portugal and South Africa and prior to the interview Michael mentioned his closely approaching trip to Indonesia. Jacob was also going on this trip to Indonesia and reveals the reasoning behind his trips abroad;

I think...that as long as I can do a few trips abroad ... to get the time and the quality and the perfection that you need really to progress [to]...that standard", that standard being in his words "a...really very very good intermediate surfer or just...edging into...the advance category

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 26: 46-6)

This is an example of what Ford and Brown (2006) state as the surfers' pursuit to achieve and refine the "finished" surfing body during their surfing career. Yet it seems that it is at this point that the pursuit for the "finished" surfing

body ends as in the next stage of the Local Surfers career, they are less concentrated on their own achievements, but the achievements of their offspring or other novice Local Surfers.

The Local Surfer at the traveller stage of their career is undoubtedly devoted to the pursuit of the surfing lifestyle and surfing for self. One such example is the reaction of women bowlers noted by Heuser (2005) who wrote that once introduced to bowls women became hooked describing it as having an irresistible appeal that kept making them come back. Heuser (2005) believes this allurement was due to the sport itself, the physical activity associated with the sport and the social life that resulted. In a similar way the Local Surfer in the traveller stage views surfing as having an irresistible appeal which can be attributed to surfing itself, the physical activity associated with it, and the social life in the form of travelling. The traveller stage of the Local Surfer's career is also comparable to the enthusiastic and devoted stage of the sport fan's career (Crawford, 2004). The significance of this comparison lies in the importance the sport has in the person's life. For an enthusiastic sports fan their sporting interest will occupy a "comparatively important location in their everyday lives" (Crawford, 2004:47) through the regular watching of games and their attendance at live games. Similarly, at the devoted stage the sport fans sporting interest will occupy a "significant location in their everyday lives" (Crawford, 2004:47) both comparable to the part that surfing plays in the life of the Local Surfer. As Ford and Brown (2006) note, individuals pursuing the surfing lifestyle can be described as single mindedly pursuing a satisfaction to their addiction which can be viewed as the reason why surfing takes such a predominant hold on the individual's life at this point in time. Crawford (2004) believes that this stage is made up of primarily longterm sport fans that can be suggested are of an older age because of the time spent in the sport whereas the traveller stage is significantly early in the Local Surfer's career and most Local Surfers in this stage are usually in their twenties. This is perhaps due to the fact that knowledge and experience play a large part in the sport fans career whereas in the Local Surfer's career this is more significant in later stages

labelled as the legends stage which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. Another reason can be found in Ford and Brown's (2006) belief that it is the youth that have the greatest opportunity to pursue a total surfing lifestyle. Ford and Brown (2006) cite the work of Thornton (1997) and Parsons (1964), who believe that the youth are unable to compete with adults for occupational status and therefore tend to seek rewards from their leisure and it is at this stage in their life when they lack the commitments older Local Surfers may have such as occupation or familial commitments that are able to fully pursue these rewards. In his focus on sport fans, Crawford (2003) also noted that although women constituted around half of the audience at live men's ice hockey games in the UK he concluded that they were never considered as being legitimate members of the devoted stage. He noted that although female fans demonstrated a level of knowledge and commitment to ice hockey which was equal to that of the devoted fan, they remained largely excluded from this social group and network as it was felt they impinged on their male fan community (Crawford, 2003). The lack of female Local Surfers noted as going through or being in the traveller stage is comparable to the findings of Crawford (2003) and suggests a marginalisation of female Local Surfers. A supporting example can be found in Jacob trip to Indonesia to go surfing that did not involve his wife Rachel.

I'm only an average intermediate surfer I would say in my eyes, umm and so I'm certainly not an expert in anyway and so for me some like stuff, like when I go to Indo in November there'll be some stuff I just probably wont even bother with cause it's just, it will be well well beyond my ability range

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09)

It is at this stage in the Local Surfers career that the concept of serious leisure is most noticeable. Stebbins (1997: 117, cited in Jones, 2000: 284) defines serious leisure as "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist or volunteer activity that participants find so substantial and interesting that, in the typical case they launch themselves on a career centred on acquiring and expressing its special

skills, knowledge and experience". Jones (2000) goes on to suggest that this career is made up of stages of achievement and reward and the traveller stage in particular highlights this. The importance of the finished body to the surfer is significant in this stage and its achievement is actively pursued throughout. Whether the traveller surfer receives the reward however is never certain and is often subject to the point at which they progress to the following stage which occurs due to outside forces and not their surfing. Once they move on from the traveller stage, as will be discussed next, there is little opportunity to continue to pursue the finished body.

The Responsible Stage

Although this happens at different ages for many of the Local Surfers, the point at which they get married or have children marks a significant epiphany in their surfing career. Evidence from the data collected suggests that these individuals begin to surf less frequently, concentrating on providing for their family. This stage can be labelled and identified as the responsible stage of the Local Surfers career as it is at this point that they begin to take responsibilities in other areas of their life that effects their surfing. Wes and Ruth for example note that surfing has changed massively for them since becoming parents

Yeah like before that was something which we did all the time, surf together now it rarely happens, it happens more now but like people, we've got good parents and my sister's wicked...But I guess your priorities changes, before we go off and surf all weekend and two or three times in the week but now you don't want to do that because its time you wouldn't have with him

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 37: 37-4, 00: 37: 51-6)

Even though he is yet to become a father, Jacob is aware of what entering this stage in his surfing career will mean;

I [will] have more responsibility and pressure to make sure I earn as much money as possible well certainly to provide and so it wont be as easy to take the odd day off here and there where as I have done in the past

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 24: 50-0)

This indicates a possible point of fluctuating commitment or identity juggling for the Local Surfer. However, when they do surf they include their partner and children, particularly in the case of their children, beginning the nurture process once again. Wes and Ruth's son for example comes along on surfing trips and according to Wes "he loves the water and we take him in the water all the time" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 37: 54-8). Michael envisages that this will be a similar situation for him when he has a family;

I don't think [my life] would change too much cause I kind of involve my family in the activity really, especially because I want to live round this kind of area umm, I would be beach orientated anyway so whether they surf or not is up to them but you know, I should imagine that they would be keen to get involved just living in and around the area

(Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00: 12:02-1)

Local Surfers Robert and Karl are still in this stage as they are still involved in nurturing the surfing of their youngest children, in particular by taking them to surf competitions (Cold Water Classic Meeting, 11/11/08). There is however a protective element to this responsible stage viewed in the reaction of one Local Surfer father, Graham Blythe. His son, Jack had entered and won his age group at the Cold Water Classic in 2008 but the organisers had added extra age groups in at the last minute without considering the amount of trophies to go round. This meant that Jack did not get a trophy and according to the organisers of the competition Gordon "kicked off" (Cold Water Classic, 11/11/08). This stage is considered the longest stage of the Local Surfers career as they continue to be responsible and nurture their children for at least eighteen years seen in the way that Robert and Karl still take their sons to competitions and surfing trips despite them being in their late teens. This career stage illustrates the shift of surfing for others, beginning to move in juxtaposition to the travelling stage which is surfing for self. At this stage the individualist streak is shared but also

there is a sense that achievement is experienced through others, in particular a Local Surfers offspring.

Reflecting once again on the work of Heuser (2005) with women bowls players, Heuser (2005) discovered that the level of commitment to bowls during the second stage, “playing bowls” fluctuated as players experienced both physical and social competing demands. Consequently women’s participation in bowls at this point in time according to Heuser (2005) waxed and waned. This is similar to the commitment of the responsible surfer whose commitment to surfing too waxes and wanes due to competing demands. Although these demands may not be physical in comparison to the female bowlers, they are more than likely to be social. Hastings *et al* (1989) describe this situation as *competing careers*. They believe that people do not just enter one career within their lifetime but many and at some point these careers can begin to compete with each other in terms of the rewards and costs associated with each career. Their work with swimmers highlighted the fact that many adults had competing careers involving their occupation and their family and on being asked what prevented them from swimming the majority of them mentioned their job responsibilities and home and childcare responsibilities. Therefore it can be suggested that the Local Surfer at the responsible stage is experiencing competing careers and similarly to the swimmers studies by Hastings *et al* (1989) it is there occupation and familial careers which win out at this stage in their career.

It is necessary to point out however that the responsible stage has very different consequences and implications for male and female Local Surfers with this stage being crosscut by gender. This is dealt with in more detail during Chapter Four when focusing on the Local Surfer Family and Gender Differences and in Chapter Seven with the consideration of the issue of the surfing brotherhood.

The Legends Stage

Once the responsible stage is over, the Local Surfer enters the final stage of their career, deemed the legends stage. This stage was highlighted during the interview with Rachel but evidenced during participant observation and field note taking. Rachel noted;

The guys who have surfed...and are now in their forties and fifties...there what I call the legends, you know they grew up surfing when surfing wasn't the most popular thing in the world, you know they did it cos they loved it, not cos it was cool.

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

Her final comment alludes to a point that the legends of today were probably the Founding Surfers of the past. However this point is specific to this time period and in the near future legends will be more likely veteran Local Surfers. Further information from Rachel highlights the differing levels of participation at this career stage; "some of them still surf, some of them, I've never seen in the water [and they are] just enjoying the lifestyle but not getting in the water as much themselves" (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09, time unknown). Phil is considered a legend and he is an example of an active surfer at this career stage. On being questioned about the participation of two other Local Surfers at the legend stage of their career, Phil replies that they don't surf but they'll tell you they do (Phil Cole, 26/08/09). This is an example of a temporary but more than likely permanent suspension of participation by a Local Surfer. Phil cites their reasons for not participating as a mixture of jobs, families, bad back, big waves and cold water. The issues concerning participation with legend surfers is confirmed when at an Cold Water Classic Competition meeting, Karl stated that there should be a veteran competition. This was met with laughs especially from other legend surfers at the meeting and Karl went on to say that the competition would be for "vain surfers that don't want to admit their age" (Cold Water Classic Meeting, 11/11/08), suggesting that some legend surfers continue surfing because of pride and self importance. Evidence then suggests that although some Legends will continue to surf because of pride and self importance, others use their physical condition or outside responsibilities as a

reason to stop. When questioned about surfing at this stage in the surfing career, many of the younger Local Surfers believed however that these reasons wouldn't hold them back. Jacob stated;

I just want to carry on, I don't want to carry on surfing until I can stop, I don't ever want to stop, I you know there's a standard in my mind that I want to obtain umm, you know I don't have illusions that I'm ever gonna get to like a professional standard or anything like that but there's there's probably like a whole bunch of stuff that I'd like to be able to do that I can't do still

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 26: 46-6)

Wes went as far as stating that he'd surf "forever" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 39: 19-8). Michael was the only realistic younger surfer to acknowledge a reason for stopping surfing and commented "my dads still surfing now although not very well and he's fifty-five, so probably as long as I'm fit and able really" (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00: 13:08-0). There seems then to be a divide among the legends with those that continue to surf at this stage and those that stop or surf less frequently due to a variety of reasons. An interesting point however is that the legends that stop or surf less frequently still feel that they have the entitlement to call themselves surfers despite their lack of participation and therefore there is little to distinguish an active Local Surfer from an inactive one in terms of identity. This could be due to a feeling that they have "done their time" so to speak and therefore deserve to keep the title, an example of the concept and English proverb "Once a thief, always a thief" which has been used by many other occupations and lifestyles to mean that once a person has lead a way of life for a period of time, that they will continue to lead this way of life as it is difficult to break out of the lifestyle or routine associated with it. One way in which they remain connected with surfing is to reminisce. At the Cold Water Classic Meetings Martin, Robert and Karl would often have a conversation between themselves about past surfing experiences. Although Martin is considered at the legend stage, Robert and Karl are in the process of entering the legend stage as they are just seeing their

youngest children through the last years of the responsible stage. Once conversation in particular involved reminiscing about how surfing locations in Spain had changed over the twenty-five years they'd all known it, each stressing the length of time they'd been out there surfing for. This is the final stage of the Local Surfers career and as many Local Surfers will consider themselves always as a surfer despite their lack of participation, it can be suggested this is a stage that many of them will be in until they die.

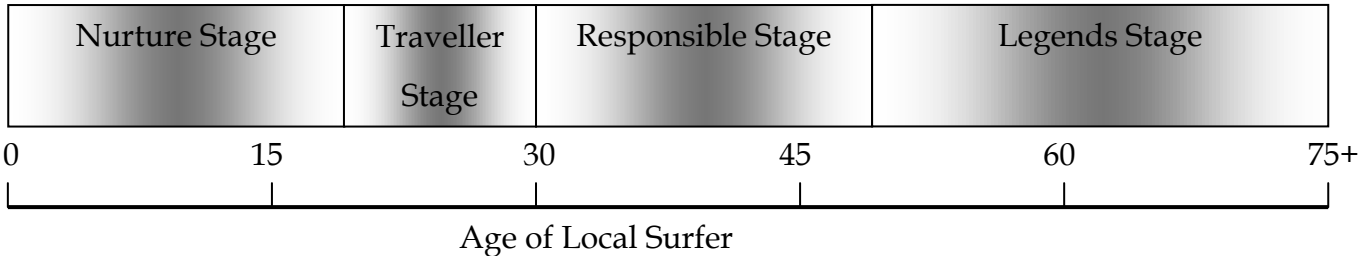
The legends stage of the Local Surfers career is similar to that of the graduate in the development of British football hooligans studied by Marsh (1978). As football hooligans progressed to this stage they were usually older than the hooligans in the stages before them and because of their development through their career, a lot wiser. Marsh (1978) believes this earned them the respect of fellow supporters and the ability to take a back seat role in hooliganism, much like the legend takes a back seat role in surfing, what Marsh (1978: 70) describes as "rest[ing] on their laurels". Age plays a significant role at this stage as a Local Surfer in the legends stage of their career is more likely to be older. Traditional views of ageing include how people of a particular age should act. However, according to Ford and Brown (2006: 76) "There is, perhaps, little indication that many hardcore surfers are prepared to grow old gracefully". However, like the women bowlers studied by Heuser (2005) the legend stage for many surfers signifies the inevitable prospect of retirement in participation from the sport itself, primarily due to medical reasons impeding physical involvement. Although many Local Surfers who were in the younger stages of their career could not foresee a time when they couldn't physically surf, currently legends such as Phil knew that this was a factor that could cause physical retirement from the sport. But as Heuser (2005: 56) states "physical retirement from bowls did not signify social retirement from the club". Similarly to the Local Surfer in their legends stage, the women bowlers' social involvement with the sport begins to take priority and the bowling club becomes a social venue rather than a place to play bowls. Similarly, many of the Local Surfers in the legend stage of

this study were actively involved in the East Caradon Surf Club using it as a place to reminisce and socialise with other Local Surfers in the legend stage. Although it can be viewed that the Local Surfer in the legends stage of their career may be taking a “back seat” in their community, their involvement at organisational level signifies the importance of this stage and also the sense of tradition they provide to surfing and the Local Surfer type. It is notable that all of the Local Surfers in this study considered to be in the legends stage of their career are male.

Based upon the data from this study the career of these Local Surfers then goes through the following stages; the nurture stage, the traveller stage, the responsible stage, and finally the legend stage. An illustration of the Local Surfers career can be found in Figure Eleven. The competitive stage has not been included as there was not enough evidence to suggest that this was a stage even after the second wave of commercialism hit as the Local Surfer tends to put itself in such opposition to commercialism. It is believed that similar to the changing of surf types, surfers move from once surfing type to another gradually and the change can be viewed as a ongoing transitional process. This is in evidence with Karl and Robert who are still in the responsible stage of their career yet exhibit many characteristics of the legend stage. Considering that their youngest children are nearly out of the nurture stage then this process of their movement from the responsible stage to the legend stage would be appropriate. Billy is also in the process of changing his surfing career stage, if we consider him to be part of the nurture stage at the time of the study. Although still reliant and nurtured by his fathers and other experienced Local Surfers, he is beginning to become more independent and move to the traveller stage of his career. Joe takes Billy surfing at Constantine and Billy states he is becoming friends with a lot of older people because of this and after his interview on questioning about his future he mentioned the future possibility of going travelling (Billy Reed, 28/11/09).

All of the Local Surfers interviewed or that have been present during this study can be placed at a stage in the Local Surfers career and more importantly can be seen as having progressed through the stages of the Local Surfers career to the stage they are currently at themselves. This strongly suggests the Local Surfers career to be quite rigid and consistent in structure however with a fluid movement of individuals progressing through it. An illustration of this can be found in Figure Ten below. Individuals within a Local Surfer career are seen as progressing through a series of distinct and coherent subgroups, within a coherent and distinct subcultural group (Crawford, 2004). It is possible to say that in the Local Surfers career fluctuating levels of commitment are exhibited during the responsible stage of the Local Surfers career and there is also evidence of temporary or permanent suspension of involvement during the legends stage. Despite this however, these surfers never leave the identity of the Local Surfer and as was considered when discussing the legend stage; once a Local Surfer, always a Local Surfer.

Figure Eleven.



Summary

Although the first two stages of identity construction were evident, the third and final stage of socialisation did not fully apply to the Local Surfer. Evidence concerning the accuracy of presocialisation was limited to experienced Local Surfers showing hostility to beginner surfers of other surfing types but not towards beginner Local Surfers, an attribute they appear to have learned through this local process of socialisation. Even though age was considered to show accuracy of presocialisation among Local Surfers, this was also proved to be insignificant. Age was however seen to be significant in impression management as there was little evidence of its existence in many of the Local

Surfers interviewed as identity construction took place at such a young age, a characteristic of the Local Surfer due to the involvement of their family members who surf or the group of Local Surfers they belong to. Therefore this stage takes place at a time when they are not fully aware of the social world around them and therefore socialisation through impression management is either greatly diminished or not present. Anticipatory socialisation is shown to exist in other types like the Wannabe but because of this it directly stops the Local Surfer from showing examples of this stage. Once again there was no evidence in this study to support the existence of this element of socialisation in the Local Surfer. Again the resolving contradictions stage is insignificant in the Local Surfer because of the age that socialisation takes place at for many Local Surfers. However, although there was relatively little evidence of what the novice Local Surfer perceived as the expected values, it was apparent that they learnt such values implicitly from the more experienced veteran Local Surfers they interacted with in their immediate environs. The third and final stage of identity construction has proved virtually nonexistent among Local Surfers and yet the first two stages clearly take place in the Local Surfers identity construction. The reason as to why this stage is not visible in the Local Surfers identity construction warrants some discussion. When focusing on the data from this study that concerned identity construction one of the most significant discoveries was the data from Phil showing a time when the Founding Surfers were establishing themselves and were constructing the first identity and surfing type concerning surfing in England. Subcultural socialisation was relatively insignificant at this point in time because of the small numbers of surfers that existed. Yet as numbers increased in surfing and further types began to be established socialisation is viewed in other types, for example impression management in the Wannabe, a surfing type based around the commerciality of surfing. After the first and second commercial wave hit the surfing subculture in England, the Local Surfer very much wanted to stay true to its roots and place its self in opposition to surfing types such as the Wannabe possibly showing why socialisation is not evident in the Local Surfer. The significance of the Local Surfer is that they are trying to avoid

commercialisation and therefore this is why this stage does not apply to the Local Surfer. Another suggestion is that Donnelly and Young's (1999) concept of identity construction and confirmation was formed around sports rather than pursuits. For example sports like Rugby (which features strongly in Donnelly and Young's 1999 work are perhaps merely more structured around groups and teams. For example you have to 'join' a team to be a rugby player and so socialisation is much more hierarchical, structured and monitored and this applied less well to individual pursuits such as surfing to the Local Surfer. It is possible that this individual aspect of surfing as a pursuit means novices have to look elsewhere for socialisation and also in the absence of a local environment of surfers, the wannabe surfer has to seek other sources of information and invariably these are provided by the commercial environment.

The Local Surfer career was seen as various distinct stages which the Local Surfer progressed linearly through: the "nurturing" stage; the traveller stage; the responsible stage; and the legends stage. Although the age of going from stage to stage was consistent for many Local Surfers as they were born into a Local Surfer family, Local Surfers such as Jacob who began surfing at an older age group still began at the "nurturing" stage of their career and continued to progress through but just at an older age. The competitive stage was seen as a possible new stage for the Local Surfer career which had been added since the second wave of commercialism and signified the effect the waves of commercialism have on the careers of surfing types. Overall it was considered that the Local Surfers career was quite consistent in structure however with a fluid movement of individuals progressing through it at different points in their life.

Chapter Six

Hessiock; A Local Surfer Community or a Community with Local Surfers

In the introduction to this study a series of questions concerning community and the Local Surfer were presented including: How does surfing fit into a community in the South-West?; Would a similar sense of community exist without surfing in these areas?; and are there communities of Local Surfers or are there communities with a Local Surfer population within them? It is these questions that will be predominantly addressed within this chapter by looking at the definition of community in relation to the data collected. Within the literature review there was considerable discussion and analysis devoted to past definitions of community which resulted in an emerging definition which embraced many of these past attempts. It was concluded that:

A community consists of a stable population within a delimited area who socially interact through unifying traits or common interests, sharing similar morals and values.

Analysis within this chapter focuses on whether these data support or oppose the definition put forward. Each element of this definition will be discussed separately beginning with whether there is a stable population. As each element is dealt with insight as to the presence of the Local Surfer within this community will become apparent and reveal answers to the questions presented above.

Discussion on community should cover the time period of the study. In the previous section this was judged by Phil and therefore meant that because he discussed topics within his lifetime the chapters on identity concentrated from 1959 to 28/11/09 (the date of the final interview). In contrast this section on community has a much broader time period as Reg was the oldest interviewee and discussed many historical occurrences before his life. Reg is estimated to be around seventy years old and therefore the time period of this section stretches at least back to 1940 however as some of his references date back to 1690 the time period must be extended to include this.

The Draw of Local Waters in Keeping a Stable Population

Discussion on whether Hessiock has a stable population will now take place chronologically over the time period of this study, with particular interest in who make up the population. This will give insight into how prominent the Local Surfer is within the population of Hessiock. Reg provides a significant historical insight into the population of Hessiock over time. He believes that the village can be separated historically into two periods, pre 1950s and post 1950s and that the population of Hessiock is considerably different between these two points in time;

My views of Hessiock is two different villages. Umm, it's the village that it was up until about mid 50s I suppose and then it's the village as it is now... I suppose what I'm really saying is pre war, the village was pretty static, umm, people came and they stayed here for a long long time and raised a family and so on. Umm, there was a influx because we were in the position we were in vis-à-vis Plymouth, umm, an awful lot of people were taken, bought out here to avoid the bombing in Plymouth, umm, we also had in the village an RAF station with one of the early, think they called it Radio location a the time, but the station here with quite a number of airmen and they used to man a large system here which tried to locate aircraft... and

in fact they took, commandeered land all over the village, including some that belonged to my father and they built accommodation for all these people, these airmen and American airmen, and airwomen

(Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00:06: 22-2, 00:07: 40-0, 00:09:02-1)

Despite the influx of people during the war period, prior to this point the population was made up of a variety of people including “farmers, the fishermen, the coastguard men, the trade that support the farmers, the cobbler” just to name a few who became part of the families that stayed for a long period of time (Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 11: 36-6). However, post 1950s he notes a change in the population of Hessiock and it is this period of time that this study is most concerned with as it fits the time frame discussed and set above by Reg’s age.

After the war, a lot of the bombed out Plymouth people came here...and the village started to change and following that in the 50s and 60s there was a lot of building with a lot of people coming here umm, not because they had any relationship with the village but because it was very close to Plymouth, close to the sea, so it was executive type houses being built. Up, [to] prewar what was built were largely either people who lived locally or people who had holidays, used to come here for holiday

(Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 10:05-2)

Despite this change Reg believes that “if you go back to 1800, 1900 you probably only representatives of maybe six families that are here now” (Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 16: 15-4). The population post 1950 has now developed into two distinct groups according to Reg, those people who like to feel they are part of the village and those who “it wouldn’t matter where they parked their houses they’re not interested” suggesting that these people do not want to be part of the community (Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 12: 23-3). Although Reg does not make a direct reference to the Local Surfer it is possible that they are part of the group that feel part of the village in the post 1950 period as this fits in with

their socialisation presented and discussed in Chapter Four. Jacob has also noted a change in the population of Hessiock in his lifetime.

when I grew up there, the local sort of, the youth and the sort of, the prevalent ... bunch of people who, you know, were like, everyone knew them, like the young, say sort of between 14 and 25 year old group, they were all, they're a lot of fishermen and like generations of families, you know, that had families living in the villages, in the village for generations and umm sort of fishing and farming was a big part of the sort of the youth community whereas that isn't the case as much now...definitely a lot less fishing going on in the village, a lot lot less umm and obviously like a lot of the youth now.. a lot of them surf whereas when I was sort of 13 and 14 there was only one or two people that surfed and so its exploded now and there's a big bunch of groms who surf and umm there is there is a little surf club that's umm started up

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

Jacob makes a direct reference to who makes up the population of Hessiock in his lifetime (post 1950 period) noting that the youth of the village who were once part of a generation of farmers and fishermen, are now involved in surfing. He also suggests that some of these surfers are part of families in the village who he would consider are long term residents;

There'd definitely be quite a lot of people who have been there through a good few generations definitely. Yeah, or a long, or certainly lived there sort of twenty, thirty years plus, you know, like long time residents. Hessiock does tend to hold onto people, people don't, will live there and stay living there cos it is such a nice place to live.

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

These data from Jacob suggests that in the post 1950 period Hessiock was made up of predominantly fisherman and farmers. It is only in the last twenty years that the Local Surfer became noticeable in the village to become dominant,

particularly among the youth population within Hessiock, in the recent past. Other interviewees helped shed further light on the current population make up of Hessiock. On being asked how many people they knew in the village were part of families Tanya and Martin replied;

Paul: Majority

Tracey: Yeah I think most of our friends are umm, uh, families from the school and the children...

(Martin and Tanya Heel 09/08/09, 00:06: 18-6, 00:06: 29-1)

Tanya believes that the number of families in the village could be on the increase.

there is planning permission for houses up through Liddon lanes, another thirty...but that's, and I worry about that, I worry that we don't have the roads, the infrastructure to support it...but we know that there is the possibility of thirty families with two children being there and if its low cost housing, there's every chance it would be.

(Martin and Tanya Heel 09/08/09, 00: 36: 58-5, 00: 37:05-9, 00: 37: 43-2)

It would seem that post 1950s and in the near future, families were and will be a large percentage of the population of Hessiock, even if they are relatively new to the village and have not been here for generations as they would have been pre 1950s. Rachel helps distinguish further who makes up the population of Hessiock, going beyond the fact that they are from families. She notes that the majority of the population can be distinguished into two groups;

mainly its people who live here and work here and if they don't work here then they work in Plymouth. So you've got your kind of normal...normal people with local jobs living in Hessiock and then you've got your people perhaps with umm, your good jobs, who've got good jobs in the city, in Plymouth and who want, and who can afford a nice house, a big house by the sea, umm, so they live here because its within commutable distance, so you've got a mixture of

those with money and big jobs in the city and those who live and work locally

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

It was mentioned in the literature review that although the geographical location of many Local Surfer communities may see an increase in visitors during popular tourist periods, this does not increase the population of the community, as they are not viewed as members of it. However, it has already been illustrated that from the viewpoint of many long-term residents, Hessiock receives little in the way of tourism, as Rachel stated there are “not very many tourists, just a few in the summer really” (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09) and therefore tourists would do little to affect the population of Hessiock. It can be reasoned then that members of the population have to spend a significant time within the village to be viewed as members of it. Overall then the current population make up of Hessiock can be seen as families where the employed within the family either work in the village or commute to Plymouth and some that get involved in the community and some that do not. It can also be concluded that post 1950s the population contained farmers, fisherman and Local Surfers, with most recently the Local Surfer population increasing among the youth of the village. In answering one of the questions set out in the introduction to this study on community, although it has been concluded that many of the younger population are Local Surfers there is not enough evidence to suggest they are dominant within the population and therefore at this point it can be assumed that this is a community with a Local Surfer population within it. Therefore they are seen as a central part of the community but not *the* community. In conclusion to this element of community, despite past and possible future fluctuations in the population of Hessiock, in the time period of this study the population of Hessiock has remained relatively stable and therefore this supports the definition of community set out in this study.

However, there are groups of people who could suggest that the population of Hessiock does not always remain stable. These groups consists of mostly people in their twenties who leave Hessiock for opportunities that Hessiock and the

surrounding area cannot provide. Two of these groups consist of mostly non Local Surfer residents such as Anne, David and Mark who were brought up in Hessiock but currently live in London because of the job opportunities there. For details on these interviewees and other participants occupation and surfing status refer to the participant information table located within Chapter Three:. Anne is not considered a Local Surfer and despite their infrequent surfing David and Mark's experience of living away from the area and not prioritising their surfing suggests that they too are also not Local Surfers. These three interviewees in particular highlight two reasons and groups of residents that move away from Hessiock; residents who leave for university and residents who leave for work. Rachel notes that for many young people in the village it is expected that they go away to university.

I think it's part of life, umm, I guess when people, when their children grow up they go to the local schools but I guess it's the culture at the moment, is that it is expected that you go away to University, umm, and so you go away to University, you get your own job, you make your own life, umm, for some people, that might involve them being in the city rather than being in a rural village so they move off and they go off and they form their own lives, umm, but a lot of people love it here and want to come back and want to make their lives locally, umm, and so they do, umm, I think it's just a natural, the natural growth of the village, I don't think it has any huge effect, I think it's just quite a natural progression.

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

In terms of work, Anne and Mark believe that they could not do the job they do in London, in Hessiock without having to change it to suit the area. For example, as Anne states "For me the type of job that I'm doing is quite specific...I probably wouldn't be able to do that here umm, unless I had my own company" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09). David however could do his job in Hessiock.

David: Yeah I could probably do it here, don't know how happy I would be but

Anne: Whys that?

David: I could do it but not for that much money down here

(Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:03:03-9,
00:03:03-9, 00:03: 11-5)

This comment by David suggests that money is more important to him at this point in time than Hessiock. Similarly to Anne and David, Tanya and Martin's daughter, a Local Surfer, left the village to go to university in Bristol. Interestingly however she returned after a year as she did not like being away from the area, showing a Local Surfer trait. This is unlike the non Local Surfer resident's interview who continue to undertake University away from the village and then enter jobs in London. It is then possible to suggest from the above data that the Local Surfer feels a stronger draw back to Hessiock than non Local Surfer residents.

However, it is not just the group of people leaving for University or work that have ventured away. David comments that "there's loads of people that actually...have gone away for a few years" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00: 10: 19-3) not only for university and work but for other opportunities which are described seen as opportunities and experiences. Interestingly it is the Local Surfer that dominates this group. For example Jacob and Rachel, both Local Surfers, went for seven months to New Zealand. It could be suggested they left for work as they both took up jobs while they were out there, however for Jacob it was the same job he does whilst living in Hessiock and for Rachel, a secondary school teacher, she took a job as a waitress. The following statement from Jacob also suggests that this trip involved a lot of surfing: "New Zealand you know like I pretty much surfed everything I came across in New Zealand but I didn't ever go to anything that was out of control umm, yeah. (Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 16: 34-1). It is possible then that they left more for the opportunity and experience rather than work which adds

another reason as to why people may leave the village. It also is evidence of these two Local Surfers being in the traveller stage of their local surfing career.

Therefore, interestingly the Local Surfer tends to not leave the village for university or work. According to the above data they will only leave the village at extended periods of time for opportunity or experience, if it involves surfing, and also if they are in the travelling stage of their Local Surfer career. It has already been discussed how the Local Surfer has a strong bond with family and therefore it can be deduced that many of these Local Surfers will be part of the families that make up the population of Hessiock. When focusing on Local Surfers in particular it is possible to suggest that they help maintain the stability of the population in Hessiock as their relationship with their local waters keeps them close to the area if not within the village. Even during the traveller stage of their career when they leave the village to go travelling they can still be considered to be part of the village and according to the viewpoints of many of the interviewees, will be received back into the community accordingly. Karl provided evidence of this as he talked of his son who was away in Hawaii at the time of data collection. His continual mentioning of his son in conversation, such as I witnessed within the Cold Water Classic meetings, enabled his son, Joe, to be remembered within the village and also showed Joe's firm establishment into the traveller stage possibly enhancing his status at home as a Local Surfer.

However what is significant about all three groups of residents and Local Surfers who leave the village for university, work, opportunity and experience? It could be suggested that the population still remains relatively stable because they all return to the village regularly and eventually permanently or at least intend to if they are living away from the village at this point in time. Referring back to David's comments which noted that a large amount of people have gone away from the village, he continues on to say that they "then come back and there's just like...ten fifteen people that always come back down quite regularly (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00: 10:

19-3). This group in particular note in their interview that they return about once a month to Hessiock. On being asked whether they would ever return to the village permanently Anne said “Yeah, we really, well we all really want it don’t we” (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:03:53-4).

It is also significant that the current population still view all three groups as members of the village despite not living there for a period of time. On asking whether they still felt accepted by the current population of Hessiock, Anne, David and Mark all replied positively feeling completely accepted back. David in particular felt that “everyone I know has kind of got this understanding that you know your coming back” (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:18:32-0). As Rachel states “people are always happy to see old faces again. Umm, I don’t know of anyone ever being unhappy to see anyone.” (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). Rachel continues to note that the return visits by these people are an important part of them being considered as part of the population of Hessiock and notes “I’d still consider them as very much part of the community even though they don’t live here all the time” (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). This point echoes findings from other research on community. For example, Crow and Allan (1994) highlight Devine’s (1992 cited in Crow and Allan, 1994) study of Luton which shows kin and friendship ‘regrouping’ following long distance geographical mobility and Williams (1983:386 cited in Crow and Allan, 1994:84) noted that it was ‘still possible to preserve ties of kinship even when the migration involved is on a large scale’ very much in the same way as the above residents of Hessiock. Tanya also suggests that it’s not just returning to the village but being active in the which keeps you part of the community. On being asked if these groups of residents were still viewed as members of the community Tanya replied:

Oh no, very much, it’s like anything if you are active when you come home and all the kids come back and they get jobs in the pub...you know so, and they work in Seaton café, so it’s an ongoing thing

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00:35:48-0, 00:35:57-4)

Jacob suggests that even when people leave the village under difficult circumstances, he feels they can move back to the village and be accepted once again back into the population.

Uhh, yeah, there's a few examples of people who I suppose who've, had affairs and left sort of left the village and sort of bad, bad light as it were, but then have moved back and people sort of just get on with it and move on you know. Some people might not have a high opinion of them but they don't, there won't be many people who would actually say that to their faces and they tend to just come back and crack on, just get on with it.

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

Overall, Tanya summarises this process:

It's an ongoing thing...Well, it's like children and stuff coming through isn't it there's always someone else to take their place so, it's just like the ongoing thing and then they come back and make it their place and then you see them out and about

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 35: 57-4)

One group of residents that must be acknowledge despite possibly being viewed as tourists are the second home owners. Unfortunately there was not enough evidence in this study to suggest whether these residents are Local Surfers or not although it can be suggested they are not due to their time away from the village. It is possible that they make the population of Hessiock relatively more unstable however as has already been illustrated, in the views of local residents they are not a significant number of people yet very much like that residents that move and regularly return, these people are still (in the eyes of the locals) part of the village. Steve stated that he liked the people with second homes in the village, even going as far to say that "they tend to be invariably nicer than the locals. I get on a lot better with people that move down than people that have lived there a long time" (Steve Toot, 00: 14: 18-5). Jacob however notes a few conditions on their inclusion in the community;

I think they quite quickly realise they need to make an effort to actually be part of a village and especially if they've come from a city...the pace of life is all very very different and I think quite quickly...they know in order to...be seen as being a legitimate part of the community they need to...make an effort to meet people within the community...there is a sense of resentment [for people] who just move down and then just ignore people, you know, people don't like that and that isn't really liked because it's seen as going against kind of everything that living in a village is about

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09, time unknown)

This situation at Hessiock reflects what Moore (1982, cited in Crow and Allan, 1994) observed at Peterhead. He found there existed divisions in terms of residence depending on whether they were local to the area or whether they had migrated in through work in the area's oil related development. The locals were hostile to the migrants and there was a growth of social problems. Hostility to this extent is yet to be seen in Hessiock yet it is a possible outcome if second home owners don't make the effort described by Jacob above.

Not only do the locals tend to believe they are part of the community but second home owners themselves also feel that they are considered part of the community and included in the population, shown through their commitment to local issues. A typical example of this was mentioned by Andy.

Our next door neighbour there is about to go on a big campaign to stop the umm, gay nudist that go down, have you heard about them?...Yeah well, I wont go into too much detail but Kev next door that side, he uh, he, there's is a uh holiday home but they're down there pretty much every weekend and they're down a lot actually and they do kind of get quite involved with everything when they're down here as well so there quite, and they're really nice but they, he was walking down the beach down towards slag rock and kind of that area and stumbled upon two men doing something they

shouldn't have right there, and he just went mental at them and then and he didn't even realise it went on but this was about middle of the day Saturday afternoon, families walking down there you know, really not very nice...and I've seen something walking down there and like in the corner of my eye and just went "no" and just walked, ran off and it's not very you know, and it's kind of to the point where you don't feel comfortable down there and its one of the nicest bits of beaches, it's gorgeous down there, uh, so yeah so he's been writing to the MP and he's trying to get a whole lot of support so I mean I suppose you could say that's one thing...Well he is trying to get, he said that he needs to get the support of other people but he has spoken to lots of people and everybody agrees so maybe if it's just him then no but if you've got the support

(Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00: 28: 11-3, 00: 29:02-2, 00: 29: 30-8, 00: 29: 55-1)

There are even people who do not return to the village and permanently move away that according to Jacob, are still viewed as part of the village.

I think like yeah, people who have grown up in the village but maybe don't live there anymore but maybe have got parents that live there, definitely still seen as being local and from the village even though they might not live there any more. Umm because they you know have grown up there, and even a few friends who I've got whose parents have since sold the house, so they haven't really got any kind of home or anything there but, you know there's still a sense that they are local people because they grew up in that village.

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

Significantly, many of these are Local Surfers. Rachel agrees with Jacob and believes other reasons which mean they remain part of the community also adding background as to why they move out of the village.

Yeah, there's, like I said, those who used to live in the village, so there's, obviously there's people that grew up in the village but who

have moved out of the village for employment reasons or because they can't afford their own house in the village, so um, there's a number of guys who are ages with James who grew up in the village umm, but who now live in Trevet. I imagine if there was affordable housing in Hessiock they would live in Hessiock. Umm, but Trevet is a local town which has more affordable housing and because it's a large town, rather than a small village and so they move their, but it's still only fifteen minutes from here so they'll still come back here, either cos their parents live here or because they still want to come and see their friends and hang out here. So they're still part of the community they just live in a local nearby town rather than in the village.

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

Local Surfer Wes is an example of this. He lived in the village for most of his life then moved to Trevet as he couldn't afford to get a house in Hessiock. Martin said that there were a number of people, including Wes, who used to live in the village who can not afford to buy a house so therefore live in Trevet. Martin goes on to say that "they're part of the community as far as we're concerned...even though they don't live in the village anymore (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 39: 34-4).

It is worth noting at this point that the newcomers who enter the village and add to the population like Andy and Tara, state how easy it was to integrate into the village and become part of the community. On being asked how easy it was to integrate into the community Andy and Tara noted:

Tara: It was quite easy really wasn't it?

Andy: Was very easy compared yeah well its like you know

Tara: Especially compared to where we lived before

(Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00: 19: 30-5, 00: 19: 34-9, 00: 19: 36-

2)

Another resident I met in the pub also described his integration into Hessiock and said that it did not take him long to fit in and throughout the conversation he continued to be very complimentary of Hessiock and its residents (Field notes, 27/06/09). Rachel found her integration into the village more difficult as she did not move straight into the village but would visit her husband James before they were married and would meet people gradually during this time. However, despite these difficulties she notes that “people were always very friendly...just in a very gentle way, just in a kind of recognizing me and say hi kind of way” (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09).

In summary, focus on the village has been on post 1950s which is roughly the time period of this study when focusing on community, and is significantly when the surfing subculture came to England. Post 1950s Hessiock was marked by an increased influx in population from people bombed out during the war in Plymouth. However, despite this influx the population of Hessiock can be said to have remained relatively stable since, despite non Local Surfer residents leaving for University and work, Local Surfer residents leaving for opportunity and experience, and a small number of residents who are owners of second homes in the village. This is because those leaving for the above reasons will visit regularly and nearly always return and those with second homes will also have regular visits. The focus on stable population has suggested that Local Surfer's are part of the community but do not represent it as a whole. Although the Local Surfer population within the village helps to keep the population stable as they would be reluctant to move and leave their local waters, other residents within the village who are not Local Surfers equally keep the population stable as they remain in the village or return to the village after a period of absence. As Jacob states “Hessiock does tend to hold onto people, people...will live there and stay living there cos it is such a nice place to live” (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09).

Insiders/Outsiders and the Close and Wide community

When addressing issues of delimited geographical area, in order to find out whether areas were delimited, questions were asked concerning boundaries. When discussing boundaries there was tendency to think of the boundaries of the village and the surrounding area which one may find on a map, but interviewees were encouraged to think of the boundaries they believed existed, physically and/or symbolically. Focus was firstly on the village of Hessiock itself before moving to discuss the relationship between Hessiock and Waverton, and finally looking at the South East Cornwall peninsula. Initially discussion is based on predominantly the non Local Surfer resident's data with some input from Local Surfer residents. However, discussion then moves on to discuss the Local Surfer in particular as it was found that the notion of a delimited geographical area carried a significance to them that did not exist for non Local Surfer residents.

The geographical area that Hessiock exists on has dramatically changed over the past 100 years. Data confirming this was mostly supplied by long term resident Reg however other, newer residents in comparison also confirmed these changes too. Reg stated that:

It was very much a linear village, a little bit in the centre here in the 1880s and around there and then during the umm, 1920s after the first world war it spread a little bit umm, particularly between here and Seaton and then somewhere in the 50 to 60s somebody in planning said, a planning officer told me this... he said, the plan for the centre of Hessiock was for here, here *or* here. But what happened is that somebody...a clerk a little secretary girl wrote on the same document here, here, here *and* here. So instead of having one development...We had three, and that made a major change at the village

(Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 42: 45-2, 00: 43: 19-0, 00: 43: 41-8, emphasis added)

This seems to be the last large expansion of the village in size according to Reg and other interviewees. Other interviewees such as Jacob commented:

I don't know if the actual technically the boundaries have grown, but there's more houses, you know, there's houses where there didn't used to be houses and what's tended to happen is that umm, where a lot of houses had a big garden, a lot of them have cut the garden in half and built a house on the garden and that's happened a lot and so there's a lot of places where there were gaps as it were and the housing was quite spread out but it's become a bit more dense now, cos people have just built on, you know, all the little, and also you know, going back 20 years, there were a lot of plots of land still, that were designed as plots of land to be built on that hadn't been built on, and pretty much nearly all of those plots have been built on. There's very very few left.

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

Tanya and Martin agree with Jacob stating:

Tanya: There seems to be development...

Martin: A small amount

Tanya: ...yeah a small amount, like every little space along the main road was a garage is now a house, you know things like that

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 36: 43-0, 00: 36: 43-2, 00: 36: 58-5)

However the geographical size of Hessiock may be about to change.

Tanya: but, and there is planning permission for houses up through Liddon lanes, another thirty...

Tanya: ...but that's, and I worry about that, I worry that we don't have the roads, the infrastructure to support it

Martin: Which we don't, we don't, there isn't the industry

Tanya: and the school, you know would be bursting at the seams and again with no hall that would have a real impact but the, there is a

guideline for umm say thirty houses and what impact that would have on a school, but it's not very much...

Tanya: ...but we know that there is the possibility of thirty families with two children being there and if its low cost housing, there's every chance it would be. Well that would have a huge impact on a school, on that school, massive

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 36: 58-5, 00: 37:05-9, 00: 37:05-8, 00: 37: 26-6, 00: 37: 43-2)

They also remark on the extra roads and number of cars it would bring to the village as they believe you need two cars per household to live in Hessiock as "public transport is a joke" (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 38: 18-7). Since the last large expansion of the village in the 1950s and 1960s noted by Reg, Hessiock has very much remained within a delimited geographical area. However, this area has become more dense with developments within the boundaries on plots of land and resident's gardens and garages. Yet this could be about to change and Hessiock could be facing further expansion due to the new development noted by Tanya and Martin. Although Hessiock itself is within a delimited geographical area which we know does not contain all of the stable population seen as part of the community associated with Hessiock, it is possible that the subjects discussion on boundaries may reveal that although this community is associated with Hessiock, its delimited geographical area stretches beyond Hessiock itself.

When asked about the geographical boundaries of the village, the interviewees were fairly united on what represented the boundaries of Hessiock. Interviewees were asked when they felt they were entering or leaving the village. Interviewees responded in two ways: firstly on the east side of the village many of the interviewees including Mark, Anne and Tanya highlighted the S bend in the road which, if entering the village, gives you your first panoramic view of the sea and Hessiock as where they felt they were in Hessiock. This highlights once again the importance of the sea to not only the

Local Surfers that were interviewed but the non Local Surfers residents of the village. The second geographical boundary noted for the east side was the sign “Hessiock”. The sign “Waverton” placed on the west side was also viewed as an indication of a geographical boundary. Rachel and Steve felt that this sign placed on the entrance to Hessiock and Waverton indicated to them what the geographical boundaries of the east and west sides of the village were. The other geographical boundary on the west side of the village that was noted to be a geographical boundary to some interviewees including Jacob and Martin was the hill that lead down from Hessiock into Waverton, again which gives a panoramic view of Waverton beach which lead each interviewee to feel that they had left Hessiock and entered Waverton. The geographical boundaries of Hessiock did not show any difference in opinion between the Local Surfer residents and other residents.

Waverton is the next village west of Hessiock and since the expansion of Hessiock in the 1950s and 1960s it has become closely linked with Hessiock both geographically and symbolically in the minds of the residents of both villages. Despite citing geographical boundaries between Hessiock and Waverton many villagers, both Local Surfers and non Local Surfer residents, felt in their minds that Hessiock and Waverton were inextricably linked and that there was no significant boundary between the two villages. Tanya for example stated:

I don't see there is one...Yeah, definitely, I don't see there's any real boundary or difference, not to me anyway, you just, I means there's a joke, what's the difference between Hessiock and Waverton, and it's a coat cos its always a little bit warmer here and then when you go you know you get the winter in the valley coming up...That's the only difference

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, (00: 38: 43-6, 00: 38: 59- 3, 00: 39:03-4)

Jacob also agreed that Waverton and Hessiock have always been perceived as one village.

Waverton and Hessiock always sort of perceived as a little bit like one village by people in Hessiock its perceived as one village but by people in Waverton, they're not, Wavertons very different...but umm, they do a lot, but there's Hessiock, Waverton work together, there's, they haven't got separate councils or anything like that, you know, every things done in harmony and like the Waverton to Hessiock raft race is a joint event and, and you know the facilities in Waverton are used by Hessiock people and visa versa so it, you know, cos there's, it's continuous houses between the villages so it's not like umm a big divide at all really

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

He commented that people in Waverton may not want to be associated with Hessiock though because it is known as the more wealthier of the two villages which he believes causes a bit of tension.

I think it's because traditionally Hessiock been the slightly more affluent, slightly more picturesque. I don't live in Waverton so I don't really know but I think generally that's what it is, it had the big holiday camp in it and it was seen as, umm had a, it was used by the army a lot in the second world war, umm, I don't know really. I just think there's may be just a little bit of tension there about, you know, a little bit of local village rivalry maybe. I mean there isn't like these days, you wouldn't have anyone who wouldn't like you because you were from Hessiock and they were from Waverton (Laughs) that would be very bizarre.

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

One interviewee, Steve, had experiences of living both in Hessiock and Waverton and expressed how he personally preferred Hessiock over Waverton. On being asked why he replied:

Cos I prefer, Hessiock's got more community than Waverton. Waverton's really spread out...So there's not really a lot of interaction and I know a lot more people in Hessiock and I personally prefer it.

(Steve Toot, 09/08/09, 00:01: 14-6, 00:01: 20-0)

In their interview both Mark and David agreed that there was no real difference between Waverton and Hessiock although Anne felt that there was one.

Anne: A little bit

Mark: Oh yeah, it's part of it, it's all the same from Hessiock to Waverton

David: Yeah

Anne: Apart from the pub in Wavertons disgusting really yeah so I'd never ever go for a drink there, so...It's really horrible, it's like going into a basement or something its really tacky

(Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00: 19: 56-0, 00: 20:02-7, 00: 20:01-6, 00: 20:07-3, 00: 20: 16-1)

Similarly to Jacob, Anne believed there was a difference between Waverton and Hessiock because Hessiock was richer than Waverton.

I think that, yeah I think there are, I think there's like (Laughs) I don't know I think Hessiock is richer and I think Waverton is up and coming ...Yeah I'm being honest though, I think well Waverton the pub isn't as nice so you attract different types of tourist I'm sure umm, you know more like gypsy type of people down in Waverton pub whereas that, I'm only being honest...Umm, umm and also the houses aren't as houses aren't don't appear to look as nice as they do in Hessiock where I think that, yeah

(Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00: 21:06-5, 00: 21: 27-4, 00: 21: 38-6)

Despite the few differences noted by predominantly non Local Surfer residents between the two villages of Hessiock and Waverton, interviewees indicate that geographically the boundaries between the two villages are fluid in the mind of the residents as many of them think of both villages together as one village.

Interestingly, although many of the Local Surfers interviewed agreed that Hessiock and Waverton could be thought of as one village, their feelings towards the surf breaks in each village were significantly different. Michael notes that at Hessiock “you’d know everyone in the water, well probably about eighty percent of people in the water at Hessiock, not Waverton as much cause they just come from all over” (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00: 14: 24-1). Although Michael states that he surfs both Hessiock and Waverton, he notes “Hessiock’s a better wave” (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00: 14: 45-5). The better wave at Hessiock causes a reaction when outsiders try to surf there which does not occur at Waverton. On being asked what reaction outsiders would get when surfing in the area Michael replied “I mean Waverton is fine I think Hessiock is the one if there were outsiders there they wouldn’t get very many waves I don’t think” (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00: 17: 33-8). Similarly Billy noted that in his favourite sport outsiders would provoke a reaction from him “But in Waverton, I am not too fussed” (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 22: 21-2). Although Local Surfers agree with other residents that the boundaries between Hessiock and Waverton are insignificant, the differences they find between the surf breaks at the two villages separates the two locations to the Local Surfer. This difference in how the Local Surfer views geographical boundaries is presented after continuing to discuss how non Local Surfer residents view geographical boundaries.

As many of the interviewees felt that Hessiock and Waverton could be thought of as one village as the feeling of community went beyond the physical boundaries that separated them, there was also an indication that this extended to the whole peninsula of South East Cornwall that Hessiock is part of. As Rachel stated;

I think the boundaries are quite fluid. I think...those are the boundaries of Hessiock umm, but there’s quite a fluid community between here and I would say Whitsand bay...you flow quite easily between those communities although they are separate...they’ve all

got something in common so it's very easy to go into those communities

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

Similarly Anne notes that she often feels she is home from London once she enters the peninsula and not necessarily until she enters Hessiock; "when we're driving down in the car its when we get over the bridge, over the Tamar bridge, then the windows go down and we take deep breaths and we're like yeah we're home" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00: 19: 20-8). As discussed previously when focusing on the stable population there are people who move away from the village and settle in towns nearby like Trevet because it is cheaper. It was noted that these people were still considered to be part of the population and therefore community, despite them living outside of the village. It is possible to suggest it is because they are still within South East Cornwall that they are considered to be part of the community. However this is not the close community which can be found with Hessiock and Waverton. This extended area which covers the South East Cornwall Peninsula is labelled by Tanya as the wider community as she refers to it frequently in her interview when discussing several villages outside of Hessiock but within South East Cornwall. Groups such as the East Caradon Surf Club also indicate the fluid community and boundaries that exist between the populations in this area as Tanya and Martin state, the club is not just for Hessiock, "it's about you know surfing on this peninsula" (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 29:03-7). A point which they stay true to as when deciding where to hold a movie night at a East Caradon Surf Club meeting, Tanya's daughter wanted to make sure the event was held near Whitsand Bay as many of the events had been held closer to Hessiock and Waverton and they wanted to include all members of the club along the South East Cornwall peninsula (Field Notes, 22/04/09). The geographical boundaries can seem to be unclear as there are those that view the community to be Hessiock, those that see it as Hessiock and Waverton, and those, who view it as the whole peninsula in which Hessiock sits. However this is resolved by Rachel who suggests; "I'd say there are like levels so you've got the Hessiock boundaries ...then you can extend that to just outside Waverton

and just outside Whitsand bay” (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09, time unknown). This is therefore how the geographical boundaries might be thought of in terms of non Local Surfer residents; as areas which then produce different levels of community. Firstly there is the close community which consists of Hessiock and Waverton, and then there is the wider community which consists of everything within the peninsula of South East Cornwall.

Although data from Local Surfers helped to form the idea of the close and wide levels of community, the Local Surfer itself has its own unique view of the geographical boundaries and what effect they have. In terms of the Local Surfer, as discussed in the review of literature that geographical boundaries were what separated one group of surfers from another and introduced the tribal element that is exhibited in the protection of their beach breaks. This has already been seen above when discussing the way they view Hessiock and Waverton. Therefore, what are the geographical boundaries of their community and is there any similarity to the geographical boundaries of the close and wide community presented above? Evidence of what each Local Surfer considered being the geographical boundaries for their community were exhibited when they discussed insiders and outsiders in terms of their local break. Jacob for example discusses his local breaks and considers anything in South East Cornwall to be his local break (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). Billy also lists many breaks within this area such as Waverton, Hessiock, Widebay, and Port Wrinkle as being his local breaks.

There is also evidence of Local Surfers identifying their local breaks through the lack of hassle they receive there as they are still considered an insider as opposed to an outsider. Michael for example noted “I surfed Portwrinkle last night, don’t really ever surf it and it was fine” (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:18:23-6) highlighting that there is no issue going from village to village within the peninsula of South East Cornwall and therefore he is an insider within this area. This would therefore suggest that any break within the wider community is where they are viewed as an insider and any person from outside this area

would be labelled as an outsider and similarly so would they if they were to surf outside of the wider community. However, it has already been viewed above when discussing Hessiock and Waverton how the Local Surfers have a differing opinion to the breaks within the wider community. This then reveals how they too have a concept of close and wide community. Although the concept of insiders and outsiders aligns with the wider community, within the wider community their feelings differ towards breaks and the break they feel most strongly about, which in this study was predominantly Hessiock, becomes their close community. One question that could be addressed with further study into the wider community is: Do all Local Surfers within the wider community of the South East Cornwall Peninsula, view Hessiock as the break which represents their close community?

To culminate the views of both non Local Surfer residents and Local Surfers, discussion on the boundaries of Hessiock and its surrounding area has revealed that there are two sets of boundaries that form two types of community: the close community and the wider community, which is furthered by the Local Surfer who uses these boundaries to create insiders and outsiders, a concept little is known about and therefore is a possible area for future study. It has already been established that the community associated with this village, although consisting of a stable population, is spread far and wide geographically at times and can be located outside the delimited geographical areas of the close community and the wider community. Parsons (1951, cited in Day 2006), noted that the “base of operation” for a community was being broadened by the development of mobility and communications, what he described as commuting by “mechanical means”. This continuing improvement of “mechanical means” then since this time can be seen as enabling some members of the stable population to remain as part of the community associated with Hessiock. However, according to Day (2006: 183);

after many years of study, no inherent connection has been established between place, and the formations of the distinctive sets

of social relationships, forms of sentiment, or conceptions of common identity that are regarded as typical of community

Although this can lead to a conclusion that in a community the stable population does have to be within a delimited geographical area, evidence from this study suggests that a delimited geographical area does play a part in the community associated with Hessiock and perhaps what is more appropriate is that this stable population has *an association with* a delimited geographical area. This position is arrived at from the finding that all members of the stable population will have once lived within the close community i.e. Hessiock or Waverton and it is this experience and bond, along with many other elements of community, that makes them feel part of the community associated with Hessiock despite being at located away from what is termed as the close and wider community. Therefore the definition of community should change to note that the stable population *are associated* with a delimited geographical area.

Social Interaction through Surfing and other Avenues

Another element of the definition of community is the fact the population in question socially interacts. When focusing on this element it is considered what are the avenues through which the community and the residents within it socially interact. There are three main avenues through which people in this community socially interact; the pub, the Working Men's Club and the East Caradon Surf Club. Each of these will be discussed with particular attention to the involvement and impact of the Local Surfer.

The pub in Hessiock was considered by many to be one of the only constant places to socially interact within the village and as Martin states "the pub has...always been a central point to the village, always" (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 10: 24-6) with Tanya frequently describing it as a focal point of the village. It's importance as a place to socially interact within the village is highlighted by its use by the community. On returning to the village for one of their monthly visits David and Anne both state that they meet people in the

pub when they come back leading David to state “hence why we’re meeting you in the pub” (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:14:16-1). As Rachel states;

They guys you meet down the pub are guys that meet in the village who live in the village or who have lived in the village. You don’t tend to get many people that live elsewhere coming down the pub, just because they’ll have their own pubs in their own villages to go to.

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

Rachel even noted the possibility of getting a future job in the pub which would enable her to meet people in the village, an opportunity she felt she missed with her drawn out process of integration into the village. The pub’s use by the community as a place to socially interact is also important according to Steve because as he states “it’s probably the only place apart from like Carnival weeks and stuff, where you’re going to meet any cross section of society in one place cos there’s not really a lot else going on” (Steve Toot, 09/08/09, 00:05:05-0). Jacob agrees and notes that you are brought together with people who you would not necessarily otherwise mix with socially (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). As members of the community within Hessiock, Local Surfers utilise the pub as avenue through which to socially interact. Rachel notes that many Local Surfers in the legends and traveller part of their career will meet in the pub and will be talking about surfing (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). The East Caradon Surf Club will also use the pub as a venue for their meetings which increases the Local Surfer’s interaction within the pub (Fieldnotes, 22/04/09). The pub is an avenue through which both the non Local Surfer and Local Surfer residents can socially interact.

The East Caradon Surf Club itself is another avenue through which members of the community can socially interact. However contrary to the pub which is a constant venue for social interaction, the East Caradon Surf Club concentrates on organising and running one off or annual events which are open to the close

community and the wider community and also its Local Surfer and non Local Surfer residents. The committee for this club and much of the membership is made up of Local Surfers and therefore this highlights their control over certain social interaction within the village. Jacob notes that “there is a little surf club that’s umm started up, that umm has quite a lot of groms who are part of it” (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). The term groms which Jacob refers to is a term used in surfing to refer to young surfers (Warshaw, 2005). Groms are an age group which dominant members and organisers of the club Tanya and Martin are aware of and think should be represented among the organisers.

Martin: We’re trying to get to the younger kids, the younger generation than ourselves involved

Tanya: Hmm, cos I think, they’re more representative of the membership, Wes and Michael and Jacob and so their input is crucial because that, you know, what is it do they want from the surf club...

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 22:08-0, 00: 22: 24-2)

Their reasons for wanting this representation from the younger surfers is expressed by Tanya:

what I don’t want is you know, is, is just our age group sort of forty plus umm...being, you know with our ideas and being dead because what you’re in danger of having then is a Working Men’s Club...

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 22: 36-8, 00: 22: 45-5)

This derogatory reference made towards the Working Men’s Club highlights the issues between the East Caradon Surf Club and the Working Men’s Club in Hessiock, and an issue which is covered in detail later in this section. At the time of data collection the organisers of the club were mostly aged in their forties and could be described as being in the legends stage of their career. Tanya had invited Wes, in the responsible stage of his Local Surfer career, and Michael, in the traveller stage of his Local Surfer career to get involved in the club so that there are representatives of a younger generation, and interestingly representative of other stages of the Local Surfer career, who can bring ideas to

the club (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09). During Chapter Four when discussing the formation of the Local Surfer I identified that all of the members of the East Caradon Surf Club who were interviewed could be labelled as Local Surfers. Although it can be presumed that some members of this club are in fact Local Surfers, the events which they run are attended by many people who are not Local Surfers but are members of the close and wider community. Jacob describes the activities of the club as running competitions and most recently taking over the running of the raft race which had always traditionally been run by the village. Events like the Cold Water Classic which the club runs involves surfers from Hessiock and other villages highlighting the East Caradon Surf Clubs involvement with Local Surfers both in the close community and the wider community. The Local Surfers involved in the competition however were, according to Jacob, in the nurture and traveller stage of their local surfing career as Jacob states;

a lot of groms got involved...it was mainly a younger chunk of surfers, it wasn't the older guys so much. Like sort of under 25s really

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

Ruth agrees saying that

it is almost either the young ones, like the teenagers to younger or...the early twenties, there's not many of them and then suddenly like...the thirty to forty year olds who...like grabbing onto it

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 11: 59-0, 00: 12: 10-4, 00: 12: 13-4)

This youth involvement is witnessed also in the following pictures viewed in Figure Twelve taken at the Cold Water Classic 2009.

Figure Twelve.



(CSUK, 2010)

Ruth suggests then that Local Surfers also in the later part of the responsible stage also get involved in the competitions. This is possibly the case because they are more likely to have a child in the nurture stage of their career that they are encouraging and supporting by getting involved. However, it is not just the Local Surfers within these two areas that are involved in the competition.

the surf club started up a surfing competition which involved people from the village and that wasn't just Hessiock though, there was other villages invited as well, so that obviously made a big difference, people got into that, that was in the Winter months. That was quite well attended from people within the surfing culture who live there, and other people as well actually just from the village came down and supported it and then there's the annual Waverton to Hessiock raft race which, that's probably the biggest event of the year, that's attended by probably at least a couple of thousand people, and that's only a sort of fun event but that's always hugely attended

(Jacob Matthews 19/06/09)

Events such as the raft race also bring back many of the community who are living away from the village at the time of the event. Anne, David and Mark for example all return to the village from London and note their reasons for doing this are

David: yeah the raft, barbeque

Anne: Umm they had that film in the

Mark: Oh the surf club, yeah, they have kind of surfy events, there was a...

Mark: Yeah surf club, South East Surf Club

(Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00: 15: 57-4, 00: 16:00-7, 00: 16:05-2, 00: 16: 12-7)

Other people, according to Rachel who used to live in the close community but have had to move to the wider community use the club itself and its events as a way to try and remain part of the close community (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). For example, Wes lives in Trevet now but is actively involved in the organisation of events at the East Caradon Surf Club. For Andy, Tara and Rachel the East Caradon Surf Club also played a vital role in their integration into the close community as they were all at the time of data collection relatively newcomers to the village. Andy in particular became involved in the events that they run encouraging social interaction in the village. Rachel on the other hand met many of the families in the village through her husband's involvement in the club. Therefore although their meetings may only bring together the insider Local Surfer community, the events that they run intend to bring together the close community and even the wider community.

However, while the role of the East Caradon Surf Club Local Surfer in the community might be seen as positive through their work in the close and wider community, it does bring certain tensions as well. From data collected at the meetings for the Cold Water Classic, interviews with members of the East Caradon Surf Club, and participant observation of members who attend the meetings of the club there in that they seem to be caught between making the events they run about the community or about surfing. Andy, a newcomer to the village and the club was aware of this division.

The surf club itself, the people who head it up is, you know, its run by a lot, some different people and you know some people have got kids that their trying to push to be quite successful surfers and stuff

and then, I think there might be different people in the club trying to you know, involved in it for different reasons

(Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00: 43:00-9)

On the first meeting he attended at a time when the club had been established for a significant time, he described them trying to establish their mission statement which he felt they should have already known, showing confusion in the direction of the club according to its members. Andy himself believes the East Caradon Surf Club is better directing their events at the community rather than being specifically for surfers because;

the people that are involved in it are good at organising community events and I think if you did make it a surf specific thing then you wouldn't have that involvement in things like the raft race...and also I don't know whether there's any point in making it a highly competitive surf competition once a year cause it doesn't...help any of the Local Surfers in the competition to have one a year and to just have it based around Local Surfers, that sounds like a community event not a...surfing event...so I think they'd be better off as a community based thing.

(Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00: 44: 54-1)

The venue for the Cold Water Classic also divided members according to whether it was a community or surfing event. During the meetings to organise this event Mitchell was pushing Tregolte and Ringport as a venue as he felt the most important aspect of the event was "getting a surf" (Cold Water Classic Meeting, 11/11/08). He even felt that they should be informing the local surfing community about how much better organised the event would be this year in order to attract better surfers. Considering this point, on reflection of the 2009 event, it was failure in many aspects of organisation compared to the 2008 event and many of the experienced surfers complained of the cancelling of the event on the original date when they felt the surf conditions were good and then rescheduling and changing the location for the following day when the surfing conditions were poor. The previous year the event had been held at Waverton

but according to Mitchell the surfing conditions were not good and they lost a few surfers to better conditions at Ringport. Even though it was highlighted that Jacob had deemed it as unsafe to hold the event at Ringport, his absence at the meeting warranted them to consider it. Although Tregolte is a good surfing beach, the location and access are difficult and therefore this could deter people from attending the event. Richard was tentative and reticent when Tregolte was mentioned showing his dislike for a venue that would inhibit the involvement of the community (Cold Water Classic Meeting, 01/12/08). Richard wanted the event to remain at Waverton as he stated that this was a better venue for the community and the audience (Cold Water Classic Meeting, 11/11/08). This point lead to a debate which continued up until the event ran amongst the organisers as to what was the more important focus of the event; community or surfing. At the party held on the day of the Cold Water Classic Richard expressed that the event should either be a surf event or a social event and that mixing them causes problems with location and access. Wes also gave his opinion on the situation expressing that the event is better as a community event and not a surfing ability event (Cold Water Classic Social, 03/01/09). At the time of the Cold Water Classic 2009 the club seem to remain divided as to the focus of the club and its events shown through their confusion over the Cold Water Classic venue. The conclusion can be found with Andy's statement that they should remain with what they are good at; organising community events, as this will ultimately be better not only for the closer and wider community, but the insider Local Surfers within it.

The Working Men's Club is the third avenue through which members of the community can socially interact through regular group meetings or one off or annual events which are held in the building or in the village for predominantly non Local Surfer residents of the close and wider community. Its importance within the village however has changed over the years, a point highlighted during discussion with Reg whose ancestors were deeply involved in the formation of the Working Men's Club and its running. Working Men's Club's

were built in the late 1800s in order to be an alternative to the local pub in a time when temperance was common. According to Reg;

the Working Men's Club was built just before the turn of the century,
two centuries ago in eighteen whatever it is, umm, and then in the
thirties they dug a place underneath and made it two story

(Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 24:09-8)

An example of Reg's deep roots within the village and within the Working Men's Club is the fact that Reg's grandfather help build the Working Men's Club and his parents were both on the management committee which lead him to be come a member and chairman for six years and now currently chairman once again filling in for a year as the current chairman takes a sabbatical. The sheer length of time Reg has been involved in the Working Men's Club has lead him to become one of three trustees, a position he describes as "dead man's shoes" (Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 21: 13-0). Reg described the Working Men's Club as follows:

It is the village hall essentially, we have around about three hundred members, it costs a vast sum of money to be a member, it costs you four pound a year to be a member, umm, but it operated as a village hall, we only do about one thing a year that is specifically for members

(Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 21: 56-3)

The member's of the Working Men's Club only had one social event a year which was held specifically for them, the remainder of the year it was used as a venue for several other groups or clubs to meet up and people involved in these clubs do not have to be members of the working members club itself. These groups include an art group, a drama group, a short mat bowls group, bingo, badminton, yoga, pilates, coffee mornings, and a hospice support group. Interestingly Reg believes that many of the people involved in these outside clubs still become members of the Working Men's Club as they feel this gives them a sense of belonging to the village.

most people, people who feel like they want to belong to the village, feel that a way of building to the village is to pay their four pounds subs and their, that's their one contribution saying I belong to Hessiock

(Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 24:09-8)

The Working Men's Club is in no way under used within the village witnessed in its large membership and utilisation by various clubs, however there is a tendency for it to appeal to a older age group with some of the groups that are held there. Jacob for example believes that the Working Men's Club is an important avenue for social interaction within the village however only for an older age bracket;

I know a lot, you know, in the older age bracket that, there's quite a strong local community of people that meet at the Working Men's Club and that has weekly bingo and sort of coffee mornings and stuff like that

(Jacob Matthews, 19/10/09)

Despite this viewpoint by Jacob, according to Reg the Working Men's Club plays a vital role in Hessiock in providing the community with an avenue through which to socially interact.

Although Reg describes the Working Men's Club as thriving within the village, there are many who believe it is ageing and needs a renewal. Steve for example describes the Working Men's Club as being "the same for like a hundred years" and "sterile and governed by people that are far too old and don't like change" (Steve Toot, 09/08/09, 00:05: 15-0 and 00:05: 21-8). Reg's current involvement as chairman and trustee in the Working Men's Club could be the reason Steve feels this way and discussion about the Working Men's Club with Tanya and Martin supports this. Tanya and Martin feel strongly about the person they label as the president of the Working Men's Club noting;

Martin: See the thing is it, it, there's an awful lot of talented people in the village who have joined the Working Men's Club, and who have

left the Working Men's Club because they've been shouted down or basically ostracised or sidelined every single time. Unfortunately within a Working Men's Club it's very autocratic, there's three...

Tanya: Well the president is a very autocratic guy

Martin: he actually taught me when I was at University...

Tanya: ...so that's how old he is, you know

Martin: ...and uh...and he's played parish council games, parish politics games for the last fifty, sixty years at least

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 18: 18-4, 00: 18: 21-5, 00: 18: 24-0, 00: 18: 28-5, 00: 18: 28-4, 00: 18: 37-5)

A final point was made by Phil;

I just think the Working Men's Club is kind of like ruled you know all the resources of the village for quite a long time now you know, there quite difficult to deal with, you have to use good strong people skills to get what you want from them

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 37: 40-6)

The point made above by Tanya and Martin concerning shouting down and ostracizing and Phil alluding to their unwillingness to cooperate highlights and supports Steve's point that the people who govern the Working Men's Club do not like change. There was then a general view among many of the interviewees who mentioned the Working Men's Club in Hessiock that it was an ageing group opposed to change and any challenges in their power within the village. This is in opposition to the vision Reg gave of the Working Men's Club which was of a vibrant focal point to Hessiock where members of village could socially interact.

In their work on the Women's Institute and the Young Farmers Clubs, Neal and Walters (2008) found that these organizations can have a strong hold on rural communities defining, shaping, reproducing and organizing local ceremonies, events, occasions, activities and traditions. Similarly the Working Men's Club

(who focus on regular group meetings) and the East Caradon Surf Club (who focus on annual events) do organise local ceremonies, events, occasions, activities and traditions however when their individual endeavours overlap (i.e. the Working Men's Club running an annual event such as the raft race) it can have detrimental effects, noted in the opinion that each club had of one another from past conflicts. Tanya and Martin's opinions of the Working Men's Club were apparent throughout their interview and highlighted a rift between the two major clubs in the village. The rift was not only very apparent during Tanya and Martin's interviews but during the data collection period as a whole. The issues can be summarised as the tension and power struggle between two avenues for social interaction in the village; the East Caradon Surf Club and the Working Men's Club. This issue caused particular tension between the leaders of each group, both interviewed during the process of data collection. During discussion of this issue there is no intention to point out who was right or wrong, but there is intention to illustrate the struggle between the two groups in controlling how they want the community to socially interact.

Two events in particular, the village carnival and the raft race which is held on the final day of carnival, which encourage social interaction within the village is where the tension between these two groups was seen during the data collection process. The village carnival has been organised for many years by the Working Men's Club and is described by Reg as one of its money making activities (Reg Davies, 26/08/09) as according to Tanya and Martin the Working Men's Club sold burgers after the carnival. Tanya and Martin described the past carnivals as being rubbish as people went to a lot of effort and "the carnival would come along to the car park, they would get judged and that was it, flat" (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, (00: 14:01-7). In preparing for the 2009 carnival however another group of people who Reg describes as being loosely associated with the East Caradon Surf Club decided they would like to be involved in the preparation and wanted to enhance the carnival with many ideas and involved a local Turning the Tide project which Reg believed was to everybody's favour. However this group also decided to add in the Big

Lunch Dreckly, a community lunch project set up by Tim Schmit, success maker of the Eden Project, that Martin felt would bring a French fete like feel to the event. The Big lunch Dreckly was actually scheduled for a later date but they shifted it to carnival day which Reg believed put a little stress into the system, a feeling that Tanya and Martin were aware of as they describe several members of the Working Men's Club being very "anti" this event and "any change in the format, they went out of their way to discourage it, squash it" (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 15: 11-9). Although Reg continued to say it was very enjoyable the inclusion of this group came late in the preparation time and caused a lack of coordination between them and the Working Men's Club. It is also one of the first challenges the Working Men's Club have had over the organisation of an event and therefore it is their power to organise events which encourage social interaction which is being undermined here. Although during the process the Working Men's Club seems to meet this challenge made by the East Caradon Surf Club and the associated groups of people, ultimately they seem to accept that the carnival was enhanced by their involvement and acknowledge a defeat. The Working Men's Club has also organised the raft race for many years, an event which raised money for the club through selling burgers after the raft race. As chairman of the Working Men's Club it was Reg's decision to decide whether the weather was good enough for the event to take place. Reg stated that he took as much advice as he could but that a belt of rain was coming in so he cancelled the event. At the time once Reg had cancelled it he also cancelled the Working Men's Club involvement in the event such as the barbeque and according to Tanya they wrote "cancelled" on many of the posters that were spread about the village. Martin, who looks at weather charts for his job, and several other prominent members of the East Caradon Surf Club such as Jacob, felt that there might be some drizzle but that the sea state was fine and therefore it should go ahead (Tanya and Marin Heel, 09/08/09). Although officially the Working Men's Club had cancelled it and historically it had been their right to do so, the East Caradon Surf Club had more control over the event because they had the insurance for the raft race which the Working Men's Club could not afford and therefore it went ahead on their decision, a

decision which Reg with hindsight believes was fine. Reg then praises the ideas such as the video projection on the beach which the East Caradon Surf Club had implemented on the day of the event saying that “they did things that we would have never have thought of” (Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 41: 21-4). Reg concluded by saying “as far as I’m concerned I wish I hadn’t had to cancel cos we could have earned some money selling burgers” (Reg Davies, 26/08/09, 00: 41: 54-1). This reaction by the Working Men’s Club after the event promoted Tanya to mention that now they have seen what a success the event is “they’ve said “Oh, well done, yeah, we’ll be there next year”” (Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09, 00: 16:08-6) suggesting that they want to be part of the success that the East Caradon Surf Club have created and also, make money from selling burgers at the event. Representing the views of the Working Men’s Club, Reg does not seem to be concerned with the fact that the East Caradon Surf Club were innovative with the carnival and raft race, in fact he praises them for being so. However it is possible to suggest that it was the challenge to the Working Men’s Club control over the event initially which sparked tension between the two clubs.

As it has been previously stated, these two events have been under the control of the Working Men’s Club for years so for them to only recently have their control undermined is bound to cause tensions. Yet it would seem as it was the only off annual event they ran that they were bound to lose it to the East Caradon Surf Club who control all the annual events in the village. This may be why that once the Working Men’s Club saw the end result they seem to admit defeat. However despite admitting defeat, there was tension seen in the loss of money the working club will experience through lack of involvement in the events. These events have brought a regular income into the Working Men’s Club and therefore it is the money and revenue for the Working Men’s Club that is also what concerns Reg as this is what funds and controls the future for the Working Men’s Club. This seems to have been resolved by the Working Men’s Club by their suggestion that they will be there next year, however it is up to the East Caradon Surf Club for this to be so. Despite the initial defensive

fight put up by the Working Men's Club, they seem to have admitted defeat and look to encourage coordination between the two clubs over the organisation of events which encourage social interaction within the village. However, the East Caradon Surf Clubs reaction since encountering the defence of the Working Men's Club is to not be involved with them at all and it is likely in the future that they will continue to have full control over annual events with as little interaction with the Working Men's Club as possible. This study then witnessed a change in power in the community of Hessiock.

Although the above events and their organisation seem very dramatic to all those involved and is a significant change in the organisation of events in the village, this event was played down by many of the population of Hessiock, particularly the Local Surfers. I have drawn comparisons with Neal and Walters (2008) work on the Women's Institute and the Young Farmers Clubs, the East Caradon Surf Club and the Working Men's Club. However the Hessiock clubs do not seem to have as strong a hold on rural communities as Neal and Walter (2008) suggests shown through the blasé attitude held by many members of the stable population concerning the two clubs. Andy for example, a newcomer to village noticed the struggle between the two clubs during the events and described it as "a whole load of crazy politics...community politics that goes on with...the East Caradon Surf Club versus the Working Men's Club" which happens in any place where there is a stable population (Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, 00: 21: 15-5). Phil, a resident in the wider community for a long period of time explains the situation from his point of view:

the Working Men's Club is kind of like ruled you know all the resources of the village for quite a long time...I think that you know they've had a few challenges to their authority over the last few years and I think this one was a particularly poignant one you know in that it was part of the raft race has always been seen as sort of an icon of you know the community calendar and that the Hessiock, we call it the carnival week is again quite an important week run by the Working Men's Club and I think it's the first time that someone's

said no it's not your week, you know it doesn't belong to you and if we want to run something we will run something and I think it's been a real big shot across the bows and it is quite interesting from a sociologists perspective to see you know these two sort of factions you know one which kind of represents the youth and moving up, you know and another hanging on to that sort of little bits of responsibility and power that they have

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 37: 40-6)

Despite realising the dramatic effect it has on the two clubs, Phil is aware that this incident is only a small part of village life and in particular of who holds the power for social interaction in the village. He notes that ;

the surfs clubs not gonna take over the drama club at the Working Men's Club...I doubt it will have a great affect on village life but it might make the Working Men's Club actually think you know well perhaps we've got to change with the times and embrace newer ideas and there are other people who've got things to offer this community

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 37: 40-6)

The views of the above interviewees representing newcomers to the close community and long term members of the wider community. Andy seems to be unaware of how important the Working Men's Club and the East Caradon Surf Club feel about the events that happened between them whereas Phil is more aware of how important it is to them. However, despite this, both members illustrate how little it affects them and personally as Phil states it is only a small part of village life.

Within Hessiok social interaction takes place through three main avenues; the pub, the Working Men's Club and the East Caradon Surf Club. The pub provides a constant place of social interaction suitable for non Local Surfer and Local Surfer residents. The pub is significantly important to the Local Surfers who can be found sharing stories and experiences there. The Working Men's

Club holds weekly, monthly and annual events for predominantly non Local Surfer residents. There are questions as to whether their activities only appeal to the elderly demographic of the village because of the type of activities chosen and their socialisation. Finally the East Caradon Surf Club is a recent venture within the village mostly made up of Local Surfers who organise one off or annual events for the close and wide community, both non Local Surfer and Local Surfer, to socially interact. The East Caradon Surf Club in particular goes some way in answering a question set out in the introduction, illustrating how surfing fits into a community in the South West. However, although Local Surfers make up the majority of this organisation, little is known about the interaction between Local Surfers in this group and therefore prompts an area for future study. The Working Men's Club and the East Caradon Surf Club are both concerned with annual or one off events that take place in the village causing tension between who holds the power for these events. It can be suggested that the stable population of a community are not concerned with who holds the power for social interaction within the village, it is the fact that it is there that is important to them, illustrated in the fact the events such as the raft race and the carnival can bring members of the community such as Anne, David and Mark back from their time away from the village. However, members of the community that are involved with groups that have power over what they deem as their avenue for social interaction within the village will challenge each other for it, causing tension between these groups. Ultimately, both groups are needed in order to provide a variety of social interaction to match the variety of the population. As Phil stated, the East Caradon Surf Club will not take over the drama club at the Working Men's Club so despite the surf club trying to take over the raft race and carnival, in his view there is still a place for the Working Men's Club in the village.

Residents Unified by the Sea and Beach, Village and Village Life

Another element of the definition of community are the unifying traits and common interests held between the stable population of the community. Many of the unifying traits and common interests mentioned were similar to how the

community socially interacts, for example many interviewees felt that a common interest was the East Caradon Surf Club. However, broadly speaking this clubs" unifying trait and common interest was the sea, a unifying trait and common interest alongside the beach mentioned by many others and therefore the sea and the beach will be discussed and not the East Caradon Surf Club specifically again. A further unifying trait and common interest was the village itself and village life and therefore this will also be presented and discussed within this section. There were various other unifying traits and common interests mentioned by individual interviewees such as carpentry (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09), football (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09 and Steve Toot, 09/08/09) and barbeques (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09) but these were not mentioned as often as the sea and the beach, and the village and village life, and also were not witnessed by the researcher when in the field as an unifying trait and common interest across the community but were restricted to small groups. Therefore discussion will focus on the sea and the beach, and the village and village life as these were unifying traits and common interests frequently mentioned within interviews and regularly witnessed by the researcher when in the field.

The sea and the beach were seen as a unifying trait and common interest to many of the residents, both Local Surfer and non Local Surfer. On being asked directly what they felt were the unifying traits and common interests shared within the village Anne replied with "it's the sea more than anything" and David followed "it's the sea and the beach more than anything for me" (Anne Thomas, David Thomas, Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00: 14: 41-5 and 00: 14: 46-0). They go on to say that if Hessiock was not by the sea they think they would not return to the village so often from their time in London working. Andy and Tara felt that the beach was a unifying trait and common interest shared by people in the village, Andy in particular also picked up very quickly, as he is a relative newcomer to the village, the focus of the sea in Hessiock which causes people in the community to view it as a unifying trait and common interest. He notes:

this place is just, it's all on the sea, wherever you are you can see the sea pretty much, in pretty much every house you can see the sea, or you know your near enough...its kind of quite nice that everything seems to be focused around that

(Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09, (00:08: 14-5)

Steve knows he is different to other members of the community when he states that he does not like the beach as he does not like getting sand in his shoes, however even he realises and states that it is a unifying trait and common interest amongst many of the community in which he lives (Steve Toot, 09/08/09). The non Local Surfers unifying trait and common interest in the sea is what brings non Local Surfers and Local Surfers together in the community. Although their usage of the two areas may differ, as is about to be explained from the Local Surfers perspective, their interest in the sea and beach is united and suggests these two groups are able to live alongside each other mutually within the community.

Another unifying trait and common interest associated with the sea and beach which was mentioned by many Local Surfers was surfing. Andy felt that surfing was a unifying trait and common interest among the people that surf within the village. Jacob agreed stating alongside other interests that "obviously there's the surfing side as well" (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). However, surfing was not seen as a strong enough unifying trait and common interest within the village to become a visible symbol of the community as it was not the only activity which brought the community together. In fact, it only brought together the Local Surfer section of the community. This therefore also means that sport, and specifically surfing confers relatively little status in this community, going against a proposition forwarded by Hargreaves (1986). However, following Sciana (1996), individual surfers and teams of surfers can be viewed as representative of their community in certain situations. One of these situations, as mentioned earlier, is when the Local Surfer steps out of their territory and becomes an outsider such as within the Cold Water Classic where the teams are made up according to the area the surfers are from. However, this is done

mostly in jest and does not provoke serious confrontation within the competition as all the teams are from within the wider community. Surfing related clubs such as the East Caradon Surf Club however did run events which brought the community together and created a unifying trait and common interest but their events were not always specifically surf based, such as the raft race, and therefore prompted the researcher to view the sea and beach in general more as a unifying trait and common interest rather than surfing itself.

Although it may seem obvious seeing as many of the interviewees live within it, the village and village life was seen as a unifying trait and common interest between members of the community. Rachel, a relative newcomer to the village saw common interests as being where you live.

I guess your common interests are...are where you live, and your interest in the things that affect your everyday life. So, you know you meet up with people in the village and you'll talk about things that are happening in the village like the social events that are happening, umm, or you might talk about what's going on in the village, whose doing what to their houses and, what developments are happening, umm, as well as what social events are going on umm, yeah I guess that's what you'd have in common.

(Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09)

Jacob agrees and notes that home improvements, local politics and any issues that affect the village are unifying traits and common interests noting that it gives a sense of community (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). Jacob also in particular views the shared experience of living and growing up in the village as a unifying trait and common interest amongst the stable population. He notes that there is;

a unique shared experience, especially so often, that does really draw people together I think, like that experience of having grown up in an area together, in a community together having, and you know, having gone through your childhood in that place, maybe having

been to the same primary schools, stuff like having had the same teachers and stuff like that so that sense of consistency and stuff, that does sort of draw you together with other people in there and you tend to find that, you know, the people who've lived there for a long time tend to automatically be able communicate and maybe get on better with each other than people who are brand new to the area cos there isn't that sense of shared experience

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09, time unknown)

Although village life in general can be viewed as a unifying trait and common interest to this community, it is perhaps more specifically according to Jacob the shared experience of life in a specific village which is viewed as more significant.

Overall interviewees have some differing viewpoints as to what is a unifying trait and common interest among the stable population of this village. However the sea and the beach, and the village and village life in Hessiock specifically are the most prominent unifying traits and common interests mentioned by the interviewees and witnessed by myself in the field. Although the Local Surfer population within the village has surfing as a unifying trait and common interest, this is closely related to the sea and beach and therefore ties the Local Surfer with the non Local Surfers in the community. This information reveals how the Local Surfer and the non Local Surfer population within the village coexist with each other, sharing unifying traits and common interests and ultimately forming a community. Therefore how does surfing fit into a community in the South West? In answer to this; the role surfing plays in this relationship creates a link between the Local Surfer and non Local Surfer's unifying traits and common interests ultimately helping to form a community.

The Local Surfer and Traditional Family Values

Another element of the definition of community was the fact that communities have similar morals and values. A point that has been presented when

discussing the make up of the population of Hessiock is closely related to the topic of similar morals and values and that is the presence of families within Hessiock. This also relates to the socialisation of the Local Surfer presented in Chapter Four, where it was discussed that they have a close bond with family who nurture their entry into surfing.

Rachel cites the family orientation of the village as being a common factor in the village which unites their morals and values. She notes "I think in terms of morals and values, we have a lot in common because...it's very family orientated, there are a lot of people here with children growing up in the schools...there's not a lot of crime, there's not a lot of drunkenness" (Rachel Matthews, 13/06/09). Linked to family values, Andy believes that the village are very encouraging to children and are keen to set things up for them to do in order as he states so it does not just turn into a retirement home (Andy Bent and Tara Smith, 14/08/09). Jacob also agrees and there is an importance on family in the village and provides an example that compares the morals and values of Hessiock to those of people within a city, highlighting the difference between village and city life;

if someone's just had an affair and a families just breaking up in the village, that isn't seen as a positive thing...people would perceive that as, that's a really sad thing to happen and so, whereas maybe in a city people don't care...there's definitely a more, slightly older fashioned more traditionally outlook on life, definitely in the village, and in Hessiock as opposed to the city

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09, time unknown)

Referring back to members of the population who leave the village, it is suggested by a few interviewees that the traditional family values are what attracts them back to the village. Tanya has two older daughters both who have moved out of the village. One of them already has children and Tanya believes that she wants to return to the village and also thinks her other daughter who currently lives in London will return to the village when she has children

(Tanya and Martin Heel, 09/08/09). Both Tanya and Martin feel that they return because they remember what their childhood was like in the village and want the same for their children. Anne also states that her childhood was so idyllic where he parents live that when she returns she wants to have that life. This is an example of what Etzioni, a communitarian, (cited in Day, 2006: 16) describes as “a slowing down in the readiness with which people will flit between places, and a new eagerness on their part to put down local roots”.

There were however other morals and values mentioned which interviewees felt were similar among members of the village, many of which could be linked to what is termed traditional family values but weren't mentioned within this context. Jacob for example noted that there is a general concern for each other's welfare;

people will look out for each other in a village you know, they'd be concerned about your welfare if you see someone, you know, someone whose just fallen over, someone would come and help you, whereas you know, I've heard just yesterday a story about someone in London who a friend who fell over in the street and people just walk on by, they don't stop, so there is a sense of sort care and concern for the people who live there, and look out, you know you'd look out for them definitely

(Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09)

There is also the element, which has been stated previously, of low crime in the village. As Mark stated, “you can leave your doors unlocked at night” (Anne Thomas, David Thomas and Mark Godfrey, 30/08/09, 00:06: 52-1).

Jacob suggests that the morals and values of a village are consistently different to those you would find in a city or urban area (Jacob Matthews, 19/06/09). This is very much in line with the thinking of academics from the Chicago School who, according to Cohen (1985) felt that urban life was different to rural

life in every respect, describing how individuals would have to undergo a mental reconditioning in order to live there. There is recognition that this reconditioning produced problems of de-regulation, isolation, and crime which are evidence of different morals and values to those who live within rural areas.

Overall, there is one similar moral and value among the stable population of the community associated with Hessiock and this is what is described as traditional family values. Again the Local Surfer and non Local Surfers within the village share this moral and value and it once again shows the ability for these two groups to coexist with each other. The Local Surfer in particular once again has their socialisation supporting them in this aspect of community suggesting that surfing goes some way in supporting community within this village.

A Definition of Community

The definition of community presented in the literature was as follows: a community is a stable population within a delimited area who socially interact through unifying traits or common interests, sharing similar morals and values. Overall, the discussion of the elements that make up the definition of community presented in the literature review when focusing on data collected from the village of Hessiock have mostly supported the overall definition of community. However, an alteration has been made which states that the stable population are associated with a delimited geographical area as opposed to being within a delimited geographical area. If the above definition was to be applied to Hessiock specifically then the community of Hessiock could be viewed as having:

A stable population associated with a delimited geographical area consisting of non Local Surfer and Local Surfer residents within a close and wider community who socially interact day to day at the pub or at weekly and monthly events organised by the Working Men's Club, or at annual events run by the East Caradon Surf Club where they experience unifying traits or common interests such as the sea and the beach, and the village and village life, sharing similar traditional family morals and values.

Although this definition of community was supported by the viewpoints of many Local Surfers, the definition itself does not represent a Local Surfer community. The discussion above on the elements that make up the definition of community has led to the conclusion that this community is not specifically a Local Surfers community but is a community with a large Local Surfer population within it which has a significant influence on the community with organisations such as the East Caradon Surf Club, but does not wholly or solely make up or control the community. It also shows how much they support the community through these organisations showing the care they have for residents within the wider community who they view as insiders. This provides an insight which goes against the media supported view that the Local Surfer is the individualist with a small group mentality and the founder of localism, an issue which is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. Despite this, a definition of community has been reached and supported within this study which is not specific to a sporting subculture or surfing type and therefore can be applied to other academic studies of community outside and within these areas.

Summary

This chapter addressed many of the issues associated with community by focusing on the elements which make up the definition of community

established in the literature review of this study. Through these elements many of the questions set out in the literature review were answered.

Discussion centred on whether Hessiock had a stable population focussed on the village in the post 1950s period where despite an initial influx in the population of Hessiock, it can be said to have remained relatively stable since, despite non Local Surfer residents leaving for University and work, Local Surfer residents leaving for opportunity and experience, and a small number of residents who are owners of second homes in the village. This is because those leaving for the above reasons will visit regularly and nearly always return and those with second homes will also have regular visits. The focus on stable population has suggested that Local Surfer's are part of the community but do not represent it as a whole. Although the Local Surfer population within the village helps to keep the population stable as they would be reluctant to move and leave their local waters, other residents within the village who are not Local Surfers equally keep the population stable as they remain in the village or return to the village after a period of absence.

Evidence from this study suggests that a delimited geographical area does play a part in the community associated with Hessiock but perhaps what is more appropriate is that this stable population has an association with a delimited geographical area. This is deduced from the point that all members of the stable population will have once lived within the close community i.e. Hessiock or Waverton and it is this experience and bond, along with many other elements of community, that makes them feel part of the community associated with Hessiock despite being at located away from what is termed as the close and wider community. Therefore the definition of community has changed to note that the stable population is not associated with a delimited geographical area. This highlights once again the concept of glocalisation where the global can be the local and 'local culture' or in this case community can be spread over a global location.

Within Hessiock social interaction takes place through three main avenues; the pub, the Working Men's Club and the East Caradon Surf Club. Each of these avenues for social interaction focuses on a different frequency of activities. For example the pub provides a constant place of social interaction suitable for non Local Surfer and Local Surfer residents whereas the Working Men's Club holds weekly, monthly and annual events for predominantly non Local Surfer residents and finally the East Caradon Surf Club is a recent venture within the village mostly made up of Local Surfers who organise one off or annual events for the close and wide community, both non Local Surfer and Local Surfer, to socially interact. Where the Working Men's Club and the East Caradon Surf Club overlap and are both concerned with annual or one off events that take place in the village this causes tension concerning who holds the power for these events. However this is likely to be resolved in the following years as the Working Men's Club is no longer involved in the one annual event they used to run.

Although Interviewees had some differing viewpoints as to what is a unifying trait and common interest was, the sea and the beach, and the village and village life in Hessiock were the most prominent unifying traits and common interests mentioned and witnessed by myself in the field. It was noted that the Local Surfer's unifying trait and common interest of surfing tied the Local Surfer with the non Local Surfers in the community. This information reveals how the Local Surfer and the non Local Surfer population within the village coexist with each other, sharing unifying traits and common interests and ultimately forming a community. It also reveals the role surfing plays in this relationship creating a link between the Local Surfer and non Local Surfer's unifying traits and common interests ultimately helping to form a community and answering once again; how does surfing fit into a community in the South West?

In terms of similar morals and values, both the local surfers and non local surfers within the community associated with Hessiock, noted traditional

family values as being the most prominent. Again this shows the ability for these two groups to coexist with each other and for the socialisation of the Local Surfer to support them in this aspect of community suggesting that surfing goes some way in supporting community within this village.

Finally, a revised definition of community was presented which is not specific to a sporting subculture or surfing type and therefore may also be applicable to other academic studies of community outside and within these areas.

Chapter Seven

“Some people aren’t gonna get waves”:

Current Issues for Local Surfers

Although this study has shown that the community in question is not solely a Local Surfer community, it remains the case that there is a relatively large Local Surfer population within the community which carries significant influence. This allows further insight into the Local Surfer as a subcultural grouping. This influence has been seen briefly when discussing the specific elements which make up the definition of community however this chapter allows a focus on the Local Surfer population within this community and particular issues effecting this subcultural group which are prominent among surfers themselves, surfing academics and surfing literature. This chapter will then address the question presented in the literature review: what are the current issues concerning the surfing subculture and how do they affect the Local Surfer?

A Surfing Fratriarchy or Brotherhood?

According to Booth (2004) Local Surfers tend to be close and bear the characteristics of sporting fratriarchies or brotherhoods. As the name would suggest, sport fratriarchies are specific to sports and as the Local Surfer views surfing as a pursuit it is possible to suggest that the concept of a sporting fratriarchy does not apply, or at least may apply differently to the Local Surfer. However, among the Local Surfer population of the South West Peninsula there was some evidence to suggest a ‘surfing’ fratriarchy existed such as the nurturing of younger Local Surfers during identity construction and also the knowledge among Local Surfers of who is considered an insider and therefore part of their wider community and conversely those who were not. From his observations of Loy (1995) Booth (2004) however notes three points of interest

concerning a sporting fraternity which can help in understanding whether a Local Surfer fraternal group exists in Hessloch. Firstly he found that sporting fraternities found in activities such as surfing were “where the action is” and according to Goffman (cited in Booth, 2004) involved character contests and special kinds of moral games, where participants moral attributes, such as “composure, courage, gameness and integrity, are displayed, tested and subjected to social evaluation” (Loy 1995: 266: 7). The Local Surfer’s exertion to constantly prove themselves and reconfirm their identity each time they enter waters outside of their own is an example of a character contest they feel they must repeatedly go through. Wes supports this belief by stating “wherever you go and you’re not known you have to prove yourself every time” (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 35: 28-8). However, interestingly, as Wes suggests and was discussed during Chapter Five, this character contest does not take place at their local waters in the presence of other Local Surfers from the area for as Billy states “I can do what I want though cause some of the local lads I have known all my life” (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 10:06-1) showing the lifelong bond held between Local Surfers. This suggests a surfing fraternity where there is a definite difference between insiders and outsiders. However this goes against the existence of a social hierarchy as Billy in particular is one of the younger Local Surfers in this area and he does not feel he has to prove himself to other more experienced or elder Local Surfers. Although the Local Surfer does enter a character contest and is subjected to evaluation outside of their local waters, this does not take place within their Local Surfer population. Between Local Surfers of a particular area there seems to be an understanding that this does not have to take place and an acceptance of one another, highlighting the possible non-existence of a social hierarchy within this group suggesting then that what exists is not a surfing fraternity but more a brotherhood based on a mutual understanding. Secondly Booth (2004) noted that sporting fraternities can be viewed as modern tribal groups that provide men with “comradeship, a sense of community, an experience of excitement and adventure, and a release of youthful aggression through innocuous, if often immature, physical exploits” (Loy, 1995: 267). It has already been suggested

that one of the Local Surfers conceptual abstractions is that many use their time-spent in their local waters as a chance to socialise with other Local Surfers from the area, evidenced in Billy's comment "when you're out surfing its kind of like your socialising with surfers" (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00: 18: 28- 3). This point, alongside the fact that text messages or phone calls are also made to round up and call upon other Local Surfers to come and surf (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09 and Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09) emphasises the comradeship that exists between this group of Local Surfers who meet up to surf suggesting sharing the experience of excitement and adventure together. There was also evidence to support that this group of Local Surfers had a release of youthful aggression through innocuous, if often immature, physical exploits. At the Cold Water Classic 2008 for example there was a wipe-out competition where surfers were expected to wipe-out in the most dramatic and humorous way possible. Many Local Surfers took part in this event and Wes won the event showing the ability for a Local Surfer in the responsible stage of his Local Surfer career to be able to take part in immature physical exploits in the presence of other Local Surfers. This point made by Booth (2004) would suggest that a local surfing fraternity did exist within this group of Local Surfers as many of them display the youthful and immature qualities present in a sporting fraternity. Thirdly and finally, sporting fraternities "all have, albeit in varying degrees, established codes of honour and violent per formative masculine styles" (Loy 1995: 267). Within surfing and applicable to all surfing types, although each type has a varying degree of understanding, there exists a surfing etiquette which was presented and discussed in Chapter Two. Examples supporting the Local Surfers following of this etiquette were frequent within interviews during this study. Michael for example noted "there's certain etiquette which you need to follow" (Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:09: 32-8) which other Local Surfers such as Jacob even during his first years in surfing was aware of as he states "from life guarding like I sort of understood surfing etiquette and stuff" (Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00:09:00-3). Wes and Ruth also felt etiquette was important highlighting that they were taught it at a young age from more experienced surfers and through watching surfing films.

you've got things like The Endless Summer, Endless Summer One, Endless Summer Two and they do talk about etiquette and stuff like that in there and so that, everybody, we all watched those over and over and over again so you do learn.

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 25: 52-4)

However, etiquette is far removed from established codes of honour which suggest hero like situations and qualities rather than the casual following of a set of unwritten rules. Therefore it can be suggested that although a code of honour does not exist among Local Surfers, there is a strong sense of following surfing etiquette. As for the existence of violent per formative masculine styles, this may exist within the style of surfing the Local Surfer exhibits when in the water and possibly through rare incidences of localism which will be discussed later in this chapter. Booth (2004) also believed that membership to a fraternity was gained through knowledge and accomplishment of codes and styles, and surviving "initiations" which can include body mutilation, physical testing and verbal hazing (Loy, 1995). There is evidence to support new Local Surfers gaining knowledge and accomplishing the codes and style of the Local Surfer during their identity construction, discussed previously within this study. However, although it can be suggested that Local Surfers go through an initiation discussed in terms of identity construction, it is not as suggested by Booth (2004) and Loy (1995) carried out through body mutilation or verbal hazing. There is evidence of physical testing among Local Surfers however this takes place during the process of identity reconfirmation as it is viewed that their identities are reconfirmed every time they enter outside waters, and not as the word initiation would suggest, during the stages of a Local Surfers identity construction. This adds that it is not an ascribed identity and that continuous reconfirmation and involvement in surfing is needed to be a Local Surfer.

Although there is some evidence that the Local Surfer group discussed have some characteristics of a surfing fraternity, the examples are too few and not strong enough to consider that the local surfing population under study can be considered a surfing fraternity. It can be suggested however that there exists a

brotherhood among Local Surfers. The word brotherhood is often associated with particular groups such as American fraternities and the Muslim brotherhood. However its literal meaning taken from Webster's dictionary (2010:web page) illustrates how this term is applicable to the Local Surfer group, its reads "an association of men united in a common interest". The use of the term brotherhood in Wolf's (1991) book in *The Rebels: A Brotherhood of Outlaw Bikers* expands on Webster's (2010) definition. Moving on from a brotherhood being a group of men with a common interest, this definition highlights the support felt through a brotherhood.

Brotherhood is love for the members of the club ... You know there's going to be a brother there to give you a hand when you need it. There's going to be a brother there to loan you five bucks for gas when you want to go for a ride. There's going to be a brother there to talk to when you need someone to talk to. Brotherhood is something that grows from being with the members; it's something you feel not something you explain. You never have to worry because there's always going to be someone there to back you, and you know it.

(Onion, Rebels MC in Wolf, 1991)

Although referring to a brotherhood of bikers, this definition can be applied to the Local Surfer group at the centre of this study. A key point of application is that a brotherhood grows from being with the members. Local Surfers like Wes recount how they spent time within small groups surfing and watching surf films. They too feel the support of other Local Surfers within their brotherhood, for example during their identity construction, and specifically in the nurturing stage of their Local Surfer career. Again, an example of this is Phil's involvement with Wes' introduction into surfing. Beyond these stages of their career, the brotherhood continues as shown here by Wes and Ruth.

Wes: Yeah it's brilliant if one of your mates is on the shoulder watching you

Ruth: and they're just giving a good old hoot or

Will: Yeah and you pull it off and you're like, that's great

In their study on surfing and masculinities, Waitt and Warren (2008:353) observe a group of young male surfers who surf “at breaks they have made their own”, indicating that they are Local Surfers. They to notice brotherhood qualities among the group noting “intimate ritual bonds of mateship through their love of surfing, and their shared knowledge, language, experiences and codes at particular breaks” (Waitt and Warren, 2008:353).

Female Exclusion

Although a surfing patriarchy may not exist among Local Surfers, the establishment of a brotherhood still has a fraternal structure which would imply the forcible exclusion of women. However, there was no evidence to suggest this was the case. As the term brotherhood suggests, there is no role for a female and therefore it is suggested that they operate outside of the brotherhood, however still within the Local Surfer type. There were several female Local Surfers in the field, two of which who were interviewed during data collection for this study. Compared to the numbers of male Local Surfers featured in this study, females were a minority, however data collected from them was still significant.

It has already been discussed in Chapter Four that they hold a different role to the male Local Surfer, mostly supporting their partner and their children in their surfing and this is possibly a reason for their lack of participation in the sport itself and their lack of presence in the water. Female Local Surfers are also known for supporting the Local Surfer population as a whole. According to Rachel, she states that this can be done “through the local surf club umm, they can get involved in that, so that’s kind of organising events whether it’s social events or surf...they can get involved in the...surf clubs and um organise events or competitions...get involved in that side of it” (Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09). Tanya’s involvement with the East Caradon Surf Club is an example of a female Local Surfer supporting the Local Surfer population as a whole. The female Local Surfer plays a supporting role in their relationship with the male

Local Surfer's be it their husband, partner, children or local surfing community as a whole. Overall their supporting role highlights the traditional family values present within the community.

On being asked how many women would be in the water when they went surfing Ruth noted "not many" by Ruth which Wes then agreed with (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 43: 18-1). Female Local Surfers gave their reasons as to why they felt female surfing numbers were low and these were in line with male opinion. Alongside her husband, Ruth lists several reasons as to why there are less females in the water including that it is "intimidating at times", agreeing with her husband that it can be a scary place, that the cold also puts people off, and finally that its hard work (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 44: 19-7). Rachel in particular also stated:

I guess you do have to be bit of a tomboy. Umm in the sense that... it is cold and you do get bashed about, and you do have to be quite tough, because, umm, you know the waves are pretty powerful and it is a really difficult sport to master, so you do have to really persist and you do have to take the hits...and umm I think a lot of girls don't want to get wet and cold and get their hair messed up and tangled and things...which does happen...umm and also I think unless a girl has a friend who surfs she wouldn't start it because I think girls are naturally more social and see it more as a social thing rather than as a sporting, competitive achievement.

(Rachel Matthews, 17/06/09)

Therefore then it is perhaps accurate to describe surfing on the South East of Cornwall peninsula as being male dominated due to mental and physical qualities required for the sport/pursuit as more associated with a masculine disposition. However, there are some Local Surfers who view that this may be about to change. Wes for example states "if you look at the surf clubs, no surf schools when they're teaching there's probably more girls than boys, there's

hundreds of them yeah, so maybe there will be a new generation coming up", a point which Ruth agrees with (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 44: 37-4).

The Reaction of the Local Surfer Brotherhood to Outsiders: Localism

"Localism is one of the defining concepts of modern surfing" (Scott, 2003:web site) and therefore must be addressed within this chapter. The Local Surfers concept of boundaries and the insider/outsider status that this places on surfers was discussed when supporting a definition of community. Within this study, Local Surfers within the wider community were considered insiders and any surfers from beyond this area were outsiders. It was noted in the literature review that a notion of boundaries and insiders and outsiders would often be joined by external conflicts and struggles, particularly when an outsider surfer entered into the water at an insider's local break and would manifest into localism. Providing information as to the origins of localism, Phil noted the following

initially as I say there wasn't really much of a crowd problem even abroad so the first place I went to was Portugal and you know there just weren't really any Portuguese surfers only other travelling surfers so it never was really a big issue until maybe I'd been surfing ten years or so and then you just notice some places it was quite aggressive and people didn't like you there.

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 11: 28-9)

This helps relate the origins of localism to the second wave of commercialism that hit the surfing subculture in England in the mid 1990s. It also highlights "a crowd problem" as being an issue that can lead to localism. Phil suggests this later in his interview when he states

the waves at reefs breaks they tend to break in peaks and that sort of tends to concentrate surfers into one place so it's sort of you know a bit of a bear pit to try and get waves.

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 20:04-8)

Among the Local Surfers featured within this study, there was evidence of localism as defined by Bennett (2006). Many of the examples given were reactions from insiders within the South East Cornwall Peninsula against outsiders that had entered their local waters. This reaction to outsiders according to Jacob is “normally if you’ve got six or seven of you who are all local you can basically dominate a peak anyway with that and you can...make it very very difficult for other people to get waves” (Jacob Matthews, 17/06/09, 00: 33: 55-0). Michael supports this stating that outsiders entering the waters in Hessiock wouldn’t get very many waves (Michael Howard, 26/10/09). Alongside not being as communicative with outsiders, Phil also states that;

I guess where as I might sit back if I feel I’ve had quite a few waves and let other people catch them if they live in the village, I probably won’t do that for people who’ve come from Plymouth

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 13: 27-5)

Similarly, Wes and Ruth note how they try to dominate through action rather than words.

Wes: Some people sort of vocalise that and get aggressive but I mean, I would just tend to sort of get more waves and try to snake in out of them

Ruth: You might not say it but you put it into practice with your surfing a bit more

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 42: 53-7, 00: 42: 57-0)

This is supported by Waitt and Warren (2008) who through their observations of Local Surfers also believe they articulate their ownership over a break by performing surfing manoeuvres designed to defend ‘their’ waves. There are also times when Local Surfers feel it is appropriate to tell the outsider that it is not their right to surf in the area as seen in Figure Thirteen taken of Portreath Harbour wall.

Figure Thirteen.



(Chris, 2008)

Wes states that there are some people who will vocalise and get aggressive (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09). As well as dropping in on them, Billy will say to them “you shouldn’t be out here” (Billy Reed, 28/11/09 00: 22: 19-4). Jacob notes that “there’s been a couple, yeah some words get spoken sometimes” (Jacob Matthews, 17/06/09, 00: 35:09-5). Wes and Ruth know that Phil and Jacob in particular are protective over their local waters and gave some details of incidents that involved each of them individually. Phil for example is described as getting “pretty aggro” with a British long board champion who entered the water at Hessiock. According to Wes and Ruth, Jacob “can be one of the worst for it” describing him as giving loads of aggro and abuse at Hessiock (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 41: 18-1 and 00: 41: 19-4). However, many of the Local Surfers interviewed were reticent about giving in depth stories suggesting that they were not proud of their fellow Local Surfers and that they did not want to brag about the incidents. This illustrates that they are almost “covering” for their fellow Local Surfer and strongly implies a brotherhood is in operation here. Despite this reticent attitude, the Local Surfers localism is in the form of domination of the waves or by verbally warning the outsider that they are not welcome.

Interestingly Billy describes an event in Whitsand Bay, part of the South East Cornwall Peninsula where a surfer started to shout and swear at another surfer for dropping in on him. Billy felt that the surfer who had dropped in was in the right as the section had closed down behind the aggravated surfer who Billy felt

was inexperienced and a beginner, and so he paddled over and joined in the argument. If this happens in his local waters then Billy feels he can get involved as someone will always have his back, again, another indicator of the presence of a brotherhood. However he states that if he was out of his local break then as he is not from there he and his friends won't get involved and will keep their head down (Billy Reed, 28/11/09). This shows the strength of the insider/outsider association for the Local Surfer and how they are eager to defend in their local waters yet resist this once they become an outsider. Many of the Local Surfers in the South East Cornwall peninsula are particularly protective about Hessiok. Phil for example states in reference to surfing at Hessiok that "I don't like it when lots of people come over from Plymouth". (Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 12: 50-0). As mentioned earlier, in Hessiok and the South East Cornwall peninsula there is currently a problem with students coming over from the Universities in Plymouth to surf. This was highlighted by several Local Surfers to this area. Wes for example highlighted one of the biggest problems causing localism was the University describing the situation with them as an "absolute nightmare" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 52: 58-2). Jacob stated "especially at Hessiok in the winter you get a lot of students out there which generally creates a little bit of animosity...we don't like it, the locals, and we tend to like it if they go and surf the other peaks and leave the one that we surf alone" (Jacob Matthews, 17/06/09, 00: 31: 12-2). According to Wes and Ruth;

Wes: Cause they turn up with about fifty people

Ruth: Yeah

Wes: And they all crash at the same spot and like, its ridiculous

Ruth: and the next day a hundred more of them turn up because they've obviously like, the words got out

Wes: The word gets out doesn't it somehow

(Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 53:08-0, 00: 53:09-7, 00: 53: 15-6, 00: 53: 27-9)

This has lead to a similar feeling among many Local Surfers as Ruth states “everyone’s quite rude about the students, oh it’s that bloody surf course again (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 53:05-0). Interestingly Wes was in a similar situation when he went to University in Swansea and has some sympathy with the students as he states “the thing is because that’s kind of transient, they don’t make any effort, I know when I was a student in Swansea you don’t make any effort to mix with the local crew... you don’t make any effort to talk to the local people” (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 53: 50-0 and 00: 53: 57-3). Wes realises that the students understand they will only be in this particular area while they are a student and therefore the effort needed to be accepted into local waters is not worth the effort as it will take time and they only have a certain amount of time in this area anyway. They therefore storm in and try to get what they want, dominating in numbers over the locals in order to get their own way. Wes also highlights that their presence could also be positive in the long term as he believes it feeds the next generation as some people who have been at the University have then moved into Hessiok and become Local Surfers themselves (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09).. This highlights future work in terms of integration into the community and also the possible transition from a wannabe type to the Local Surfer type. From the examples above it is possible to suggest that the outsiders in the South East Cornwall Peninsula come in the form of Wannabes, as evidenced by Billy’s attitude and experience, and students who are difficult to place in a surfing type without knowing more about their background and socialisation. It is possible to suggest from Wes’ experience as a student who felt similarly to the students invading Hessiok, that they are also too Local Surfers although it can not be ruled out that they could also be Professional or Wannabe surfer types.

Jacob goes on to say that this feeling of animosity which causes localism comes from the fact that;

there aren’t enough waves really to go around so the local people who live there sit there and watch it all the time and wait for it to happen will feel and...I know they haven’t got any more of a right to

it but they do feel like you know that they should have...more of a say, more waves than people who just come from outside

(Jacob Matthew, 17/06/09, 00: 33: 55-0)

Similarly Phil notes that;

surfing, resources are finite, there's not, on a given day there's only a certain number of waves that are gonna break and if there are thirty people trying to catch them, it causes a lot of tension cause some people aren't gonna get waves, umm, and if you, you might just about cope with that if you know those people, if you don't know them, they come from thousands of miles away you, its gonna antagonise you, if they're catching waves and your not and you feel like you live there.

(Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 12: 37-9)

Again, similarly Ruth notes how desperate people get to have their own waves that they get fed up when they can not get to them because of outsiders. Wes also notes that he has not got a problem with them as individuals but it is the number of them and what he describes as "the influx, the break can only handle a certain amount of people before it gets crowded and it does get crowded quite quickly, and as soon as its crowded everybody's unhappy" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 54: 45-1). Therefore it can be seen as the overcrowding of a finite resource that initially causes problems and then raises issues as to who has the right to be there in the first place, with the locals believing it is themselves. This belief is supported by other Local Surfers observed by Scott (2003:web site) who found that "surfing saturation in popular culture has resulted...in an excess of participation. For the 'original' members of surfing subcultures, surfing has simply become too crowded, resulting in frustration that is too often being expressed in aggressive behaviour and surf rage"

An interesting point is the reaction the Local Surfers have to their own feelings about their reactions and localism. Phil for example describes the reaction as "It's just human nature" and "not something I'm proud of but its, you know

just how I feel" (Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 12: 50-0 and 00: 13: 27-5). Similarly Jacob notes that "whether that's right or wrong that's quite a common human trait" (Jacob Matthews, 17/06/09, 00: 33: 55-0).

There is however an understanding among Local Surfers of the etiquette where insiders/outsideers are concerned and they follow this etiquette when entering outsider waters to avoid localism being inflicted upon them. For example, Wes notes "if I turn up at a new spot I'm quite respectful of people who I would perceive to be locals and you know you won't hassle them" (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09, 00: 42: 32-9). As a beginner surfer in North Devon Jacob felt his ability and his outsider status did not warrant him to surf in particular areas and at particular times. He notes "I tended not to surf low tide Croyde a huge amount which is like where all the short, the high the good quality sort of local short boarders will surf...I still didn't feel like I was, like amazing" (Jacob Matthews, 17/06/09, 00: 18:07-6). His understanding of etiquette also showed in his trip to New Zealand.

when I went to New Zealand I was very very aware that I was a visiting surfer and was and was very respectful of the locals and I wouldn't, wouldn't just go in there and like take every single wave and like you know would be, and if there was a local out just getting loads more waves than me I wouldn't begrudge him that because its, that's where he lives you know like I'm just visiting so at the same time at Donderry that's kind of how quite a lot of us feel

(Jacob Matthews, 11/08/09, 00: 33: 55-0)

This evidence showing the Local Surfers have knowledge of surfing etiquette which they follow when in outsiders waters is evidence opposing a previous suggestion that the University students who over run areas of South east Cornwall are Local Surfers themselves. According to the above examples they would have knowledge of etiquette and would respect other Local Surfers which according to data collected in this study they do not, and therefore cannot be considered as Local Surfers. However it can be suggested that this

understanding of etiquette only begins at a certain career stage of the Local Surfer as Billy seems to be an instigator of localism when he is entering outside waters. On being asked how he felt about surfing in waters where he was an outsider Billy replied he was “not bothered, I just show them how I surf” and “just take their waves and show like yeah, I am better than you so...” which according to him provokes the reaction “yeah I’ll let this guy have some slack actually” (Billy Reed, 28/11/09, 00:09: 32-1 and 00:09: 44-7). Whether this reaction is correct is debatable as it is according to insiders, the exact attitude which promotes a localism response from them. Although it is possible that Billy is deviating from the Local Surfer type and can be labelled as a maverick in this respect, it is also possible to suggest that Local Surfers do not learn etiquette or the consequences of etiquette regarding localism until they enter a later stage of their career, possibly the traveller stage where they will become an outsider while they are away and may experience more acts of localism against them which prompts them to change their attitude and respect other Local Surfers local waters. This would support the fact that the outsider students at Hessiock are Local Surfers who are going from the nurture stage to the traveller stage in their Local Surfer career and are learning from acts of localism against them to respect etiquette and other Local Surfers. There is then an understanding of surfing etiquette which then forms a mutual understanding that exists among Local Surfers after a certain stage of their career regarding localism and therefore it is possible to place the blame of instigating localism on Local Surfers in the nurture stage of their career and/or on another surfing type who either has no knowledge of the insider/outsider concept, or completely disrespects the etiquette that exists. There is also a sense that etiquette is slightly different for local surfers as they become more tuned into other local surfers when they surf outside their own waters giving rise to a slightly different behaviour, for example deferring to locals a bit more.

However, Bennett (2004) also described heavy localism, a step on from localism where the preference for what is local is expressed physically and often violently to newcomers and outsiders. However there is little evidence to

suggest that heavy localism has ever occurred in the South East Cornwall Peninsula. Phil states that he has never seen any incidences of heavy localism along the South East Cornwall peninsula describing it as “pretty laid back” (Phil Cole, 26/08/09, 00: 14:03-0). Jacob states “I’ve never seen a fight or anything” but follows that it is a possibility by saying “if it got busy enough it could happen” (Jacob Matthews, 17/06/09, 00: 35:09-5). Billy also states that although he has seen verbal acts of localism he has never seen anything really serious (Billy Reed, 28/11/09). There were however stories of heavy localism occurring within Cornwall outside of the location of this study. Wes and Ruth recounted several stories, in limited detail, concerning heavy localism after their interview including one in Polzeath where a friend of theirs had been head butted.

The localism found in the South East Cornwall peninsula is very much in line with insider/outsider approach presented in the literature review. The Local Surfers of this area are very territorial over their local break and aim to protect it against outsiders, as suggested by Bennett (2004). This approach is also supported by the fact that Local Surfers understand the difference between insiders and outsiders and recognise when they have changed from an insider to and outsider and act respectfully to the insiders that are around them. This example however shows that there is no evidence to suggest the existence of a colonial imperative that was put forward by Wade (2007) as the Local Surfers had no claim on other waters other than the ones local to them. The Local Surfers of Hessiok recounted many examples of surfing at other breaks which were not local to them, even in other countries, and spoke of displaying respect towards the locals as they understood how they felt of their local waters and showing an understanding of surfing etiquette. It is worth noting however that other, more popular surfing locations in Cornwall, such as Fistral at Newquay attract such a diversity of surfers that it is much less clear-cut as to who is an insider/outsider and therefore much more difficult for surfing etiquette to be followed and localism to occur.

Summary

This chapter aimed to present current issues concerning Local Surfers. In addressing these issues further insight was made into the Local Surfer, their identity, and also the community in which they live. Firstly there was discussion as to whether the Local Surfer could be viewed as a sporting fraternity or a brotherhood. Data collected in this study indicated that a sporting fraternity was too extreme in many elements of its definition and that the term brotherhood enveloped much of what the Local Surfer was about. It was concluded that the fact that the Local Surfer views surfing as a pursuit and not a sport may well be why a sporting fraternity was inappropriate. The term brotherhood, (which did share a notable similarity to fraternities in the exclusion of women) was deemed more appropriate and evidence to support this was exhibited when discussing localism. As the term brotherhood suggests, females were a minority and this study found that women were not so much excluded by men from surfing but did not want to participate in the pursuit themselves because of the masculine physical and mental tendencies associated with surfing. They did however remain involved in surfing through supporting relationship with the male Local Surfer's be it their husband, partner, children or local surfing community as a whole. Finally discussion focused on the concept of localism. It was found that the localism present in the South East Cornwall peninsula is very much in line with insider/outsider approach presented in the literature review. The Local Surfers of this area are very territorial over their local break and aim to protect it against outsiders (who they see as anyone outside the wider community area). However, their awareness of surfing etiquette enabled them to surf as outsiders in locations outside of their area as they were more sensitive to other locals and therefore less likely to incite localism themselves. It was noted then that lack of knowledge concerning surfing etiquette is the cause of localism.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This chapter aims not only to summarise the findings of my analysis but to form a conclusion based on these findings, discuss the implications of these findings, reflect on the study as a whole, and finally to discuss future areas of interest which have been raised by this study. This will be done on a chapter by chapter basis.

Ideal Types in the Surfing Subculture

Summary and Conclusion

In summary this chapter addressed the topic of ideal types in the surfing subculture. In terms of The Local Surfer: Style and Socialisation, this study found evidence to support the presence of the Local Surfer in this community but also data which supported characteristics related to style and socialisation. In Going beyond Style and Socialisation further characteristics of the Local Surfer were presented which lead to the conclusion that the Local Surfer as an ideal type, 'exists' in South East Cornwall and has the following ideal typical characteristics;

- they have a dislike of the Wannabe surfing type and commercialism shown through;
 - a lack of care for fashion,
 - a dislike for big and bright brand logos or names,
- they are taught and encouraged by a male friend or family member,
- they live in close proximity and have a relationship with their local waters,
- they have a dislike of outsider surfers,
- the social element of surfing is important to them,
- they are self employed or in a business which supports their surfing,

- they are part of a network of mutually supportive local business relations,
- and finally they see surfing as a pursuit rather than a sport.

Each of these characteristics finds some support in relevant literature which provided further insight or endorsement. The Local Surfers lack of care for fashion and their dislike for big and bright brand logos or names is a result of what Lanagan (2003) believes is the widespread sale of surf clothing, its increased popularity in mainstream fashion and also a reaction to the “rookie error” (Donnelly and Young, 1999) often made by Wannabe’s. The teaching and encouragement of the Local Surfer by male friends or family members identifies a pluralist perspective on leisure where social factors such as the social groups to which people belong assist them in choosing which leisure pursuits to engage in (Roberts, 1986 cited in Haralambos and Holborn, 1991). Sport England (2006) also found that family and friends were considered to be the most important factor influencing participation in sport. Data surrounding the characteristic of living in close proximity and in particular having a relationship with their local waters provided a comparison to Laurence and Cartier’s (2003) theory of native place and Yi-Fu Tuan’s (1974) concept of “topophilia” which not only describes the love of a particular place but also the need to defend their waters which is evident in terms of localism (addressed in Chapter Seven) which illustrates a further characteristic; their dislike for outsider surfers. A newly noted characteristic is that the Local Surfer is self employed or in a business which supports their surfing. This incorporation into their working life highlighted the work of Parker (1976, cited in Jarvie and Maguire, 1994) who noted the increasing tendency for the line between work and leisure lifestyles and identities to blur. It also highlighted the existence of the extension pattern where work extends into leisure with no clear dividing line (Parker, 1976, cited in Jarvie and Maguire, 1994). Through being self-employed, the Local Surfer was also seen as becoming involved in a network of mutually supportive local business relations in order to support other Local Surfers. Finally the Local Surfer viewed surfing as a pursuit. This involved reflecting on Chapter Two where literature defining sports and pursuits was

presented. Data from the Local Surfers indicated that to them, surfing was a pursuit.

All of the above characteristics separate the Local Surfer from other surfing types including the Wannabe which the Local Surfer has a notable dislike for and in a number of ways construct their identities in opposition to these types of surfers. This was observed in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) but was also visible within this study. This reasons for this dislike include Yi-Fu Tuan's (1977:64) concept of crowding where the belief is that "we appreciate the company of our own kind" which illustrates the Local Surfers happiness to surf with other Local Surfers but not with the Wannabe who takes part in a conflicting activity which generates a sense of crowding. Other characteristics presented above such as the lack of care for fashion and a dislike for big and bright brand logos or names suggests that the Local Surfers dislike of the Wannabe is a direct reflection of their dislike for commercialism. This is in direct opposition to Clarke and Critcher (1985) who view the most important aspect of leisure as its commercialisation.

The section entitled The Identity of the Local Surfer's Home looked at the wider area of Caradon and South East Cornwall that Hessiock was set within. Theory concerning the concept place and in particular once again Laurence and Cartier's (2003) concept of native place and Babacan's (2005) concern with geographic icons in a place evoking emotions highlighted the insider's positive attachment to Hessiock. This suggests then that the Local Surfer not only has an attachment and relationship with their local waters but also the surrounding area which is a possible reason as to why they live in close proximity to their local waters.

In the section The Local Surfer Family and Gender Differences the differences between male and female Local Surfers were discussed and these data suggest it was discovered that female surfers married to male surfers played a supportive role in their marriage that allowed their husbands to continue to

surf but this meant their own participation levels declined. This observation is comparable to the work Thompson (1999) undertook on Tennis players where a gendered division of labour existed yet both genders reported being happy within their role. However, the characteristics noted of the female Local Surfer are specific to married Local Surfer females as no single or unmarried Local Surfer females were interviewed during the study. This therefore highlights an opportunity for future study which is discussed in the following section.

Continuing to develop on my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) further evidence was presented in Other Surfing Types to support the presence of the Wannabe, the Professional Surfer (previously named the Sponsored Surfer) and the Soul Surfer (who was noted as being in decline and possibly evolving into a more explicitly religious group of surfers such as the Christian Surfers Association). These types were strengthened through support of known conceptual abstractions and the discovery of additional characteristics as listed below.

The Wannabe

- Preoccupation with fashion and group identity aspects of surf culture
- Low participation rate
- Low standard of surfing
- Frequents commercially popular surfing locations
- “Name Dropping” of commercially popular surfing locations

The Professional Surfer

- View surfing as a sport
- Take a professional approach to surfing
- Awareness of commercial opportunities related to surfing

The Soul Surfer

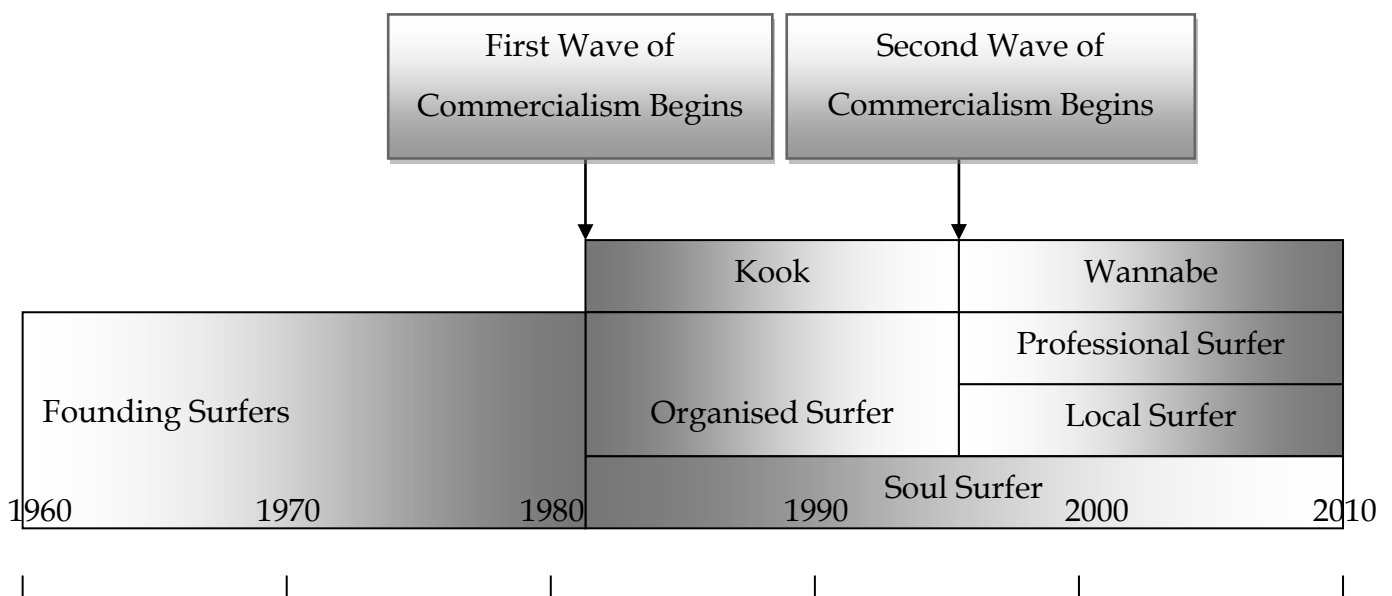
- Believe surfing has a spiritual dimension

- Have a spiritual relationship with the sea

- Original Soul Surfer disliked elements of commercialism, competition and hype.
- Evolved Soul Surfer denies serving the sport of surfing through selfish ambition.

The expanded time period of this study in comparison to previous work in this area revealed historical types. Based on the various data collected to form these historical types, a typology timeline was developed (See Figure Thirteen) highlighting two transitional periods in the surfing subculture history in England. These transitional periods were seen as waves of commercialism which highlighted historical surfing types that existed before the ideal types developed in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007).

Figure Fourteen.



This timeline presented the historical surfing types but also highlighted the changes in type over time which with further investigation were revealed to be products of waves of commercialism that hit the surfing subculture in the South West of

England. All the types presented in this study, both present and historical are specific to the time period of this study and also to its location. It cannot be suggested without further study that this typology timeline is applicable to any other time period or location.

Underpinning this chapter and the study as a whole was Weber's concept of Ideal Typing which was used to develop the surfing types established in my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) and enabled the construction of the above typology timeline for the surfing subculture in England. This typology timeline highlighted the fluidity of the types as they evolved through waves of commercialism. This suggests a fluid evolutionary and transitional notion of ideal types. There was also evidence of the fluidity of surfing types as people moved between types. Weber's concept of Ideal Typing was a constructive concept to use within this study and supported its future application with other studies.

Overall this section has further established the qualities of the surfing ideal types, in particular the Local Surfer which is the focus of this study. With this type established it is now possible to continue further investigation into it by focusing on its identity in particular its construction and confirmation, and the characteristics of its life in particular applying the concept of career as developed by Erving Goffman (1961).

Implications and Future Study

Chapter Four exposed many areas specifically concerning the Local Surfer and gaining deeper insight into their lived identities, lifestyle and practice, however it also raised numerous issues which unfortunately were beyond its scope but warrant further investigation and clarification. For example, questions remain on how outsider surfers integrate with existing Local Surfers to become part of the community. Although one example of this was seen in Andy, this was a relatively unexplored topic during his interview and therefore provides an area for future study which could be aligned with Crow and Allan's (1994:70) work on "the problematic process of becoming accepted as a 'local'". In contrast, this study also

raised questions about what would happen to Local Surfers if they themselves became an outsider (through for example, moving away for employment reasons) and if this meant they would cease to be a local surfer? In other words at what point and does one cease to be a 'Local'? There was insufficient data from this study to address this question fully and therefore it is viewed as an area for future study. This study also highlighted differences between the male and female Local Surfer however it is worth noting that only married female Local Surfers were encountered and therefore future study on female surfing participation in the South West is needed to build an enrichment of knowledge and understanding concerning how gender interacts with the local and indeed other surfing types. Another area for future study concerned the impact that surfing as sport has had on surfing as pursuit. Michael noted the impact surfing the sport was having within the stronghold of surfing the pursuit;

I think the sports come on a bit, you know its calssified as a sport now more than before it was just like you surfed, you know it was more kind of a fun kind of thing I suppose and you can see that with like you know my generation of surfers like Wes, Jacob, we just do it for fun really I think, whereas Elliot Slade the young lad he does a lot of contests and he's always concentrating on getting filmed by his dad and all that kind of thing, we just did it for a bit of a laugh.

(Michael Howard, 26/10/09, 00:08:07-9)

This leads to the notion that surfing the sport will continue to effect surfing the pursuit and the Local Surfer and the evolution of surfing types will continue as has happened previously in the surfing subculture in England. A final area for future study put forward by this chapter concerns its location. Hessiock had a low population of Wannabes in comparison to popular surf locations such as Newquay and this therefore raises questions regarding the relationship between the Local Surfer and the Wannabe populations within a more commercial surfing area.

This study, as with my previous study (Beaumont, 2007), acts as a direct catalyst for future studies as seen above. However, there is also the opportunity to undertake future study in areas slightly removed from this study. For example, my previous study (Beaumont, 2007) presented a surfing typology, and this study then focused on one type in particular, the Local Surfer. It is then proposed that possible future studies focus in on other surfing types presented in my past work and continue to develop knowledge and understanding of each surfing type. In particular the focus might centre on how surfing types change over time, social and geographical location and, in addition how individual surfers might shift between 'types' over time. Another area for future study could involve a change in location to see if my surfing typology is applicable to surfing locations around the globe. Finally, an area for future study, and one that I have begun to implement already, is the surfing typologies ability to give understanding and insight into the surf retail business. The surfing typology can be used as a tool to apply to the surf retail business which provides information on their customers and consumers and how to react to their specific needs and wants.

The Local Surfer; Identity Construction and Career

Summary and Conclusion

Chapter Five introduced two theoretical areas of interest to the study that were informed by a symbolic interactionist perspective: Donnelly and Young's (1999) work on identity construction and confirmation in a sport subculture and Goffman's concept of career.

Donnelly and Young's concept of identity construction and confirmation was used to produce significant insights into socialisation and the deliberative process of identity construction for the Local Surfer. Identity construction takes on the following stages presented by Donnelly and Young (1999); presocialisation, selection and recruitment and socialisation. The application of these stages revealed the following points. Although the first two stages of identity construction were

evident, the third and final stage of socialisation did not fully apply to the Local Surfer. Evidence concerning the accuracy of presocialisation was limited to experienced Local Surfers showing hostility to beginner surfers of other surfing types but not towards beginner Local Surfers, an attribute they appear to have learned through this local process of socialisation. Even though age was considered to show accuracy of presocialisation among Local Surfers, this was also proved to be relatively insignificant. Age was however seen to be significant in impression management as there was little evidence of its existence in many of the Local Surfers interviewed as identity construction took place at such a young age, a characteristic of the Local Surfer due to the involvement of their family members who surf or the group of Local Surfers they belong to. Therefore this stage takes place at a time when they are not fully aware of the social world around them and therefore socialisation through impression management is either greatly diminished or not present in the sense implied by the concept. Anticipatory socialisation is shown to exist in other types like the Wannabe but because of their antagonistic identity relations it directly discourages the Local Surfer from showing examples of this stage. Once again there was no evidence in this study to support the existence of this element of socialisation in the Local Surfer. Again the resolving contradictions stage is insignificant in the Local Surfer because of the age that socialisation takes place at for many Local Surfers. However, although there was relatively little evidence of what the novice Local Surfer perceived as the expected values, it was apparent that they learnt such values implicitly from the more experienced veteran Local Surfers they interacted with in their immediate environs. The third and final stage of identity construction has proved virtually nonexistent among Local Surfers and yet the first two stages clearly take place in the Local Surfers identity construction. The reason as to why this stage is not visible in the Local Surfers identity construction warrants some discussion. When focusing on the data from this study that concerned identity construction one of the most significant discoveries was the data from Phil showing a time when the Founding Surfers were establishing themselves and were constructing the first surfing identities (and type) in England. Subcultural socialisation was relatively insignificant at this point in time because of the small

numbers of surfers that existed. Yet as numbers increased in surfing and further types began to be established socialisation is viewed in other types, for example impression management in the Wannabe, a surfing type based primarily around the commerciality of modern surfing. After the first and second commercial wave hit the surfing subculture in England, the Local Surfer very much wanted to stay true to its roots and place its self in opposition to surfing types such as the Wannabe possibly showing why these processes of socialisation are not so overtly evident in the Local Surfer. The significance of the Local Surfer is that they are trying to avoid commercialisation and therefore this is why this stage does not apply to the Local Surfer. Another suggestion is that Donnelly and Young's (1999) concept of identity construction and confirmation was formed around sports rather than pursuits. For example sports like Rugby (which features strongly in Donnelly and Young's 1999 work are perhaps merely more structured around groups and teams. For example you have to 'join' a team to be a rugby player and so socialisation is much more hierarchical, structured and monitored and this applied less well to individual pursuits such as surfing to the Local Surfer. It is possible that this individual aspect of surfing as a pursuit means novices have to look elsewhere for socialisation and also in the absence of a local environment of surfers, the wannabe surfer has to seek other sources of information and invariably these are provided by the commercial environment. This raises some questions over the ability of the theoretical lense selected to accomplish this task alone.

Reflecting on this point, other theories, (from non symbolic interactionist perspectives) may be more appropriate for a better understanding of the development of the Local Surfer type and these are outlined when looking at the implications and future study for this chapter. Despite this conclusion to the application of Donnelly and Young's (1999) theory, there was evidence of identity confirmation and reconfirmation taking place.

Goffman's concept of career also provided an opportunity to present the career of the Local Surfer and in particular provide information on the years after identity

construction and the process of ageing within a subculture and a community. The Local Surfer career was seen as various distinct stages which the Local Surfer typically progressed in a linear manner through:

- the “nurturing” stage;
- the traveller stage;
- the responsible stage; and
- the legends stage.

This linearity seemed consistent even across a diverse range of ages at which local surfers take up the pursuit. For example, while the age of going from stage to stage was consistent for many Local Surfers as they were born into a Local Surfer family, Local Surfers such as Jacob who began surfing at an older age group still began at the “nurturing” stage of their career and continued to progress through but just at an older age. The competitive stage was seen as a possible new stage for the Local Surfer career which had been added since the second wave of commercialism and signified the effect the waves of commercialism have on the careers of local surfing types (and potentially other types too). However, it was not noted significantly enough among participants for it to be considered part of the Local Surfer career. Overall it was considered that the Local Surfers career was quite implicitly structured and consistent in structure however with a fluid movement of individuals progressing through it chronologically at different points in their life.

Each stage carried distinct characteristics, many comparable to similar stages in sport based careers. The “nurturing” stage was comparable to that of the sport fan as what Crawford (2004) and this study found was the career of a sports fan and Local Surfer often happens at such a young age that once they become older the reasons and motivating factors behind their introduction are not always clear. At the traveller stage, comparison was made to female bowlers studied by Heuser (2005) who similarly to the Local Surfer at the traveller stage found that their sport/pursuit had an irresistible appeal centred around the physical activity and the social life. However, once these female bowlers moved on to the next stage, like the

Local Surfer at the responsible stage their participation fluctuated due to competing physical and social demands experiencing what Hastings *et al* (1989) described as competing careers. Finally, the legends stage was compared to the graduate stage featured in Marsh's (1978) work on British football hooligans who are both usually older than the hooligans and Local Surfers in the stages before them and because of their development through their career, a lot wiser. Marsh (1978) believes this earned them the respect of fellow supporters and the ability to take a back seat role in hooliganism, much like the legend takes a back seat role in surfing.

A symbolic interactionist approach enabled the use of concepts such as Donnelly and Young's identity construction and confirmation and Goffman's career. Donnelly and Young's concept of identity construction and confirmation was limited in its use when applying it to the Local Surfer as they viewed surfing as an individual pursuit and not a sport. Although there was some insight into the Local Surfers identity, it was not always in line with Donnelly and Young's work and therefore on reflection, another theoretical approach concerning identity construction could have been taken which may be more appropriate for a better understanding of the development of the Local Surfer type. On the other hand, Goffman's concept of career was insightful into the life of the Local Surfer and their progression through it and enabled the construction of a series of stages which the Local Surfer passes through and knowledge of the Local Surfer in their older years which was previously an unknown area.

Implications and Future Study

Chapter Five noted a theoretical implication in reference to the use of Donnelly and Young's (1990) theory of identity construction and confirmation which was not considered the most appropriate theory to apply to a pursuit such as surfing within the context of the Local Surfer's life. It was suggested that other theories (from a non symbolic interactionist perspective) may be more appropriate for a better understanding of the development of the Local Surfer type. Bourdieu's work, for example, on habitus is a relevant theory which could be applied. Habitus; "an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular

conditions in which it is constituted" (Bourdieu, 1977:95) is according to Jarvie and Maguire (1994:190) "the product of the internalisation by an individual of social structures". There is therefore the possibility of exploring a Local Surfing habitus produced from the practical mimesis of the characteristics of other (more established) Local Surfers.

Beyond a shift towards using additional theoretical perspectives this chapter highlighted fewer thematic areas for future study but two of these are significant. Firstly, following the case of Jacob's 'late' development into a Local Surfer when looking at the identity construction and confirmation of the Local Surfer, the question remains as to how adults in particular go through the identity construction and confirmation process as the majority of participants involved in this study went through this process at a relatively young age. In part this question might be usefully approached adding different theoretical perspectives on socialisation, such as the idea of practice, mimesis and the construction of bodily dispositions; how Local Surfer identity might be constructed relationally in opposition to other surfer types, and finally what kinds of identity narratives are transmitted at the local and familial level as well.

In terms of career, this concept was distinctive and strong in this study however there are opportunities for future study. In particular, it would be important to see how the concept of career is approached from a narrative perspective (exampled in the work of Sparkes, 2002) that would focus on the changing forms of stories individuals tell but also how storied narrative resources also help to reconstruct the idea of stages of a surfing career. A further possibility is to find out more about the various stages, and integrate this with a focus on identity and the idea of change, for example how Local Surfers might become professionals. My current work with SERG (Sport and Exercise Research Group) enables the possibility of carrying out such future study and in particular there are plans to conduct a survey among young Local Surfers to confirm or deny the existence of the competitive stage which, like the ideal type itself, would show an evolution in the Local Surfers career.

Hessiock; A Local Surfer Community or a Community with Local Surfers

Summary and Conclusion

In Chapter Six many of the issues associated with community were addressed by focusing on the elements which make up the definition of community established in Chapter Two in which a working definition of community was arrived at as follows: "A community consists of a stable population within a delimited area who socially interact through unifying traits or common interests, sharing similar morals and values". In particular this chapter aimed to establish whether Hessiock was a Local Surf community or a community with Local Surfers.

In focusing on Hessiock post 1950s it was revealed that the village had a stable population where despite an initial influx in the post war period, has remained relatively stable since. When looking at who made up the population of Hessiock and indeed when discussing the morals and values of the population it was concluded that the population was dominated by a family focused community culture. Although non Local Surfer residents leave for University and work and Local Surfer residents leave for opportunity and experience, there are only a small number of residents who are owners of second homes in the village and therefore the population can still be described as remaining relatively stable as even those who leave for the above reasons will visit regularly and nearly always return, notably with no problems on reentry, and those with second homes will also have regular visits. The focus on stable population suggested that Local Surfer's are part of the community but do not represent it as a whole. Therefore, while the Local Surfer population within the village helps to keep the population stable (as they would be reluctant to move and leave their local waters) other residents within the village who are not Local Surfers equally keep the population stable. This is because they remain in the village or return to the village after a period of absence principally because of the pull of their local waters and seaside location, similar to the concept of 'regrouping' presented by Devine (1992, cited in Crow and Allan, 1994). In conclusion, there are fluctuations in the population due to non Local Surfer residents

leaving for University and work, Local Surfer residents leaving for opportunity and experience, and a small number of second home residents. However, the population can still be described as stable because those who leave the village for the above reasons will visit regularly and nearly always return, notably with no problems of re-entry.

The focus on the element of a delimited geographical area revealed the boundaries of close and wide community used by non Local Surfers and then insiders and outsiders used by Local Surfers defined as people from inside and outside the wider community. Evidence from this study also suggested that a delimited geographical area does play a part in the community **associated** with Hessiock, but perhaps what is more important is that this stable population has an association with a delimited geographical area. This was deduced from the point that all members of the stable population will have once lived within the close community i.e. Hessiock or Waverton and it is this experience and bond, along with many other elements of community, that makes them feel part of the community associated with Hessiock despite being at located away from what is termed as the close and wider community. This was partly due to what Parsons (1951, cited in Day, 2006) described as the broadening of the “base of operation” due to commuting by “mechanical means” and partly factors such as affordable housing. Therefore, the definition of community was changed to note that the stable population are associated with a delimited geographical area.

Discussion then took place on social interaction within Hessiock which was viewed as taking place through three main avenues; the pub, the Working Men’s Club and the East Caradon Surf Club. Each of these avenues for social interaction focused on a different frequency of activities. For example the pub provides a constant place of social interaction suitable for non Local Surfer and Local Surfer residents alike whereas the Working Men’s Club holds weekly, monthly and annual events for predominantly non Local Surfer residents and finally the East Caradon Surf Club is a relatively recent venture within the village mostly made up of Local Surfers who

organise one off or annual events for the close and wide community, during which both non Local Surfer and Local Surfer, to socially interact. This illustrates what Neal and Walters (2008) found to be the organisation's stronghold on rural communities, defining, shaping, reproducing and organising local ceremonies, events, occasions, activities and traditions. The East Caradon Surf Club in particular illustrated how surfing fits into a community in the South West and how Local Surfer's as individuals and groups fit into and help shape the identity of the local community, but also support its traditional family values. However the presence of locales such as the pub and the Working Men's club highlighted that kind of community might exist without surfing in the village. Difficulties between the above avenues for social interaction emerged when their activities overlapped, for example both the Working Men's Club and the East Caradon Surf Club organised annual events. This highlighted the issue of power to control these events which in the time period of this study was taken by the East Caradon Surf Club leaving the Working Men's Club controlling weekly and monthly events. However, this is likely to resolve in the following years as the Working Men's Club is no longer involved in the one annual event they used to run, they have completely handed over to the East Caradon Surf Club. This may also suggest that the East Caradon Surf Club is on the rise and that the local surfing culture is developing and gaining more influence.

Focus then turned to another element of the definition of community: unifying traits and common interests. Although Interviewees had some differing viewpoints as to what a unifying trait and common interest was, the sea and the beach, and the village and village life in Hessiock were the most prominent unifying traits and common interests mentioned and witnessed by myself in the field. It was noted that the Local Surfer's unifying trait and common interest of surfing tied the Local Surfer with the non Local Surfers in the community. These data reveal how the Local Surfer and the non Local Surfer population within the village coexist with each other, sharing unifying traits and common interests and ultimately forming a community. It also reveals the role surfing plays in this relationship creating a link between the

Local Surfer and non Local Surfer's unifying traits and common interests ultimately helping to form a community.

Finally, there was evidence to suggest that similar morals and values could be found within the community summarised under the title of 'traditional family values'. Traditional family values are a backbone of the Local Surfer and this again this shows the ability for these two groups to coexist with each other and for the socialisation of the Local Surfer to support them in this aspect of community suggesting that surfing goes some way in supporting community within this village. To conclude, focus on the definition of community the definition of community was recapitulated with the minor changes suggested through discussion of its elements. This final definition was seen as: *A community is a stable population associated with a delimited area who socially interact through unifying traits or common interests, sharing similar morals and values.*

Implications and Future Study

Chapter Six explored areas associated with a definition of community. Through this exploration, future study regarding the Local Surfer and community was noted. Firstly, depth could be added in discussion on delimited geographical area by focusing on the concept of space. In particular, Thrift (2011:143) notes that "The spaces in which humans can be together have progressively increased in scale as new forms of materials, which are also new forms of spacing, have allowed new kinds of social relation to exist". This raises questions on how great the human reach is and therefore how far away can a Local Surfer be from their local break and still be considered a Local. However there is also a possibility, according to Gupta and Ferguson (1992), that there is not an increase in space but a quickening mobility of people that is leading to a profound sense of a loss of territorial roots which could be the beginning of the end and therefore beginning of an evolution of the Local Surfer. This point made by Gupta and Ferguson (1992) affects the insider/outsider concept that the Local Surfers enforce which needs further study in particular on the effect it has on the non Local Surfer community. Although described as the "shrinking of

space" (Maguire, 2000:356), a contrasting view to Thrift's (2011) belief that space is progressively increasing, , globalisation and glocalisation also present questions of space that concern the Local Surfer. Giulianotti and Robertson (2007:134) note how glocalisation "highlights how local cultures may critically adapt or resist 'global' phenomena". There is already evidence of the Local Surfers resistance to global phenomena in their rejection of commercialism, however the traveller stage and the possible competitive stage of the Local Surfers career in contrast highlight the Local Surfers involvement with the global and the need for further exploration around this topic. Finally, there is also a need for further insight into the avenues for social interaction which principally concern the Local Surfer. Although this study explored the East Caradon Surf Club, there was little insight into the interaction among Local Surfers within this organisation and other such as Christian Surfers which therefore is also an area for future study.

'Some people aren't gonna get waves'; Current Issues for Local Surfers

Summary and Conclusion

The final focus on community looked at the current issues facing the Local Surfer, in particular their fratriarchial qualities, the exclusion of women and the concept of localism. In addressing these issues further insight was made into the Local Surfer, their identity, and also the community in which they live. Firstly there was discussion as to whether the Local Surfer could be viewed as a sporting fratriarchy or a brotherhood. Although the Local Surfer carried many of the masculine qualities associated with a fratriachial group, the definition of a surfing fratriarchy put forward by Booth (2004) was seen as being too extreme for the Local Surfers observed within this study. The word brotherhood however was far more applicable to the Local Surfers within this study with definitions taken from Webster (2010) and Wolf (1991) exhibiting both the masculine qualities of the group but also the nurturing and paternal qualities not generally considered present in a fratriarchy. It was concluded that the fact that the Local Surfer views surfing as a pursuit and not a sport may well be why a sporting fratriarchy was inappropriate.

Although there were notable differences between a sporting fraternity and a brotherhood, a notable similarity in their definitions is the potential exclusion of women. However, this study found that women were not so much excluded by men from surfing but were perceived that they did not want to participate in the pursuit themselves because of the masculine physical and mental tendencies associated with surfing. These female Local Surfers did however remain involved in surfing through supporting relationship with the male Local Surfer's be it their husband, partner, children or local surfing community as a whole.

Finally discussion focused on the concept of localism as defined by Bennett (2006). It was found that the localism present in the South East Cornwall peninsula is very much in line with insider/outsider approach presented in the literature review when discussing Neal and Walters (2008) work with the women's institute and young farmers. This approach illustrated how Local Surfers react to surfers outside of their community. The Local Surfers of this area are very territorial over their local break and aim to protect it against outsiders (who they see as anyone outside the wider community area). However, their awareness of surfing etiquette (set out by Mackert, 2005) enabled them to surf as outsiders in locations outside of their area in a more sensitive way and this tended to produce less expressions of localism against them. It was noted then that lack of knowledge concerning surfing etiquette is the principle cause of localism especially in terms of a lack of appreciation of the local surfer. There was however little to suggest that any heavy localism took place in this area despite a few summarised stories from interviewees. The Local Surfer however was seen as not being proud of these particular events through their summary of stories giving few details regarding events of localism.

Implications and Future Study

Chapter Seven focused on three main areas of interest in surfing concerning the Local Surfer. Each of the three areas discussed can be viewed as areas for future study as each was just relatively covered in this study. In particular the issue of localism which is a prominent area for media coverage in terms of surfing needs academic study in order to provide deeper insight into the causes and effects of this

phenomenon. There are also practical implications such as the ability for to feedback to the students at the University of Plymouth over concerns of their mass presence at certain breaks and educate them on surfing etiquette in order for them to be able to continue to surf in the presence of a Local Surfer at their break. Similarly, the issue of gender is a study to be done in its own right focusing for example on local surfing masculinities and whether they are specific or different in any way given the context of their construction or the development of brotherhood among Local Surfers and whether Local Surfer women are accommodated and if so how and under what rules. Not discussed within this study and a subject that has received little attention academically (Ward, 1996 and Wheaton 2007 and 2008) is the issue of surfing and the environment which also provides a growing but underdeveloped area for further study.

Reflection on Methods

In terms of the methodological approach I took for this study, I chose to work within the Interpretive paradigm taking a qualitative approach. On reflection this methodological approach was appropriate for this study and produced a rich amount of data from which meaningful conclusions were able to be drawn. In particular qualitative methods such as interviews enabled direct contact with participants where issues raised during participant observation and field note taking could be directly followed up and cross referenced. Although the participant observation and field note taking methods were advantageous for entering the field and initially outlining potential interview participants, their use was limited within this study and ideally could have been used throughout the duration of study to support data collected within interviews. In relation to epistemology, the knowledge produced in this study is applicable cautiously in other contexts. As seen within this study, examples and comparisons have been drawn from many studies set within different contexts to this study and similarly this study can support and inform.

A the researcher is the key instrument in the use of ethnographic methods it is also worth reflecting on how factors such as my background in surfing (outlined in Chapter Three) have influenced both the process and any outcomes of the study. In terms of the process and the methods used, my background in surfing had a distinct influence on elements such as the location and participants. As explained previously, at the time of the study a family member of mine was married to a Local Surfer and lived within a small Local Surfer village, giving me unique access into their community with a valid reason for being there. Reflecting on this influence, it brought many other benefits to the research study such as speeding up the process of integrating into the community, a previous knowledge of participants and their behaviour, and sensitivity to issues within the village. Although some participants were aware of the study through the overt note taking at events such as the Cold Water Class meetings, very few associated me from that point solely with the project and still would introduce me with reference to my family member, therefore limiting my labelling as a researcher which could have caused a change in their behaviour around me. In relation to the outcome of this study, I believe the benefits outlined above when discussing the influence of my background on the process highlight the strength it brought to the methods used which equally influenced the quality of the data collected. For example, having built up a rapport with many of the participants prior to the study they felt comfortable within an interview situation to tell me about sensitive issues. This is noted particularly with Ruth who I had met several times prior to interview and who was a close friend of my family member. Because of this Ruth spoke about her issues with pregnancy and loosing her confidence in surfing in her surfing ability and fitness (Wes and Ruth Deacon, 02/11/09) within the interview freely, providing me with data that without a prior rapport I may not have obtained. Similarly, I had met Tanya and Martin several times before the interview and they spoke unreservedly about the issues they had with the Working Men's Club. Interestingly however I had never met Reg prior to interview and he did not mention these issues with the South East Cornwall Surf Club until directly questioned about it, showing the benefits of building a rapport with a participant prior to interview. One factor which I had to monitor throughout the data collection

and analysis stages was my relationship with my family members and the influence it had on the outcomes of the study. During the study there were times when it was difficult to take a step back with my family members and view them as participants. The emotional involvement and attachment I had to them made it difficult to draw certain conclusions which I believed they may have found upsetting. For example comments on their relationship when focusing on the gender differences between the male and female Local Surfer and the career stages of the Local Surfer were difficult to write. I had to make an ethical decision on what data could be included in the study in an area of ethical concern where there is no guidance. My conclusion was to collect all data at the time for it to be reviewed at a later stage where I would be prepared to make a decision on its inclusion in the study. At this point I made the decision to include all data collected despite some in the analysis stage leading to conclusions that I felt might mildly upset my family member. My reasoning however was that she has the intellect to see how the data supports the conclusion and the value it brought to my study. On reflection I showed these conclusions to her prior to submission and she was not upset at all but found my conclusions interesting and a valuable insight into the life of the Local Surfer. Overall my background had a positive effect on both the process and outcome of this study. It did however raise ethical issues around ethnographic studies involving family members which I believe needs to be addressed with further research.

Overall, I consider that the findings and ideas generated in this study add to the limited knowledge that previously existed in this area of study. It provides insight into the surfing subculture in England from its establishment up to the present day and enabled the development of surfing types, a typology timeline, a career map of the Local Surfer and the formation of a definition of community relevant to those inhabited by these local surfer types. It also contributes to the academic understanding of current issues experienced by the Local Surfer which go some way towards counteracting the often limited and stereotypical portrayal by the media.

Chapter Nine

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